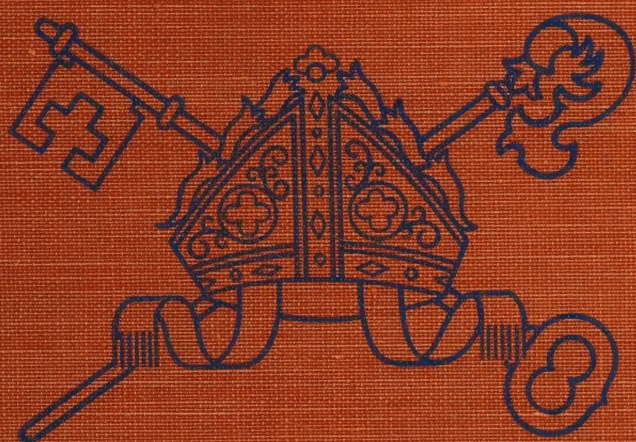




Central BAPTIST
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

in memoriam

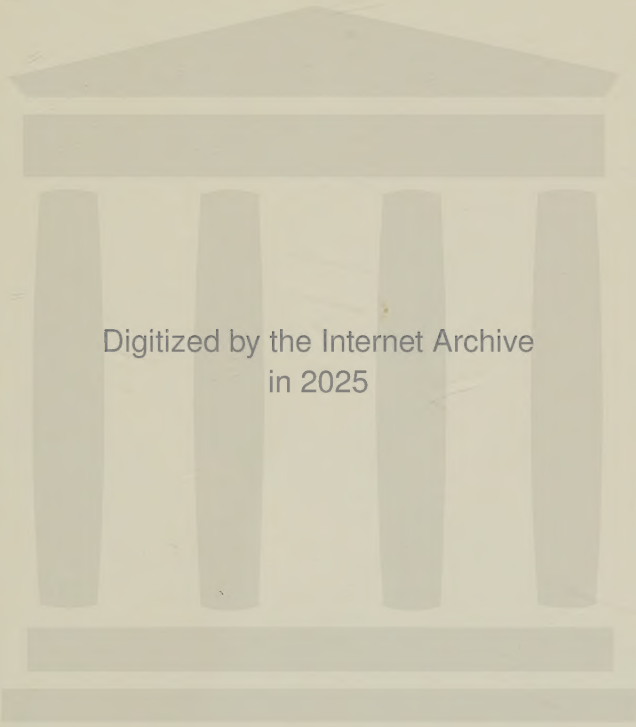
MRS. EDNA SIMPSON

presented by
Ever Ready Circle
Osage Baptist Church
Osage, Iowa



KANSAS CITY, KANSAS

BISHOP
BRENT



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CHARLES HENRY BRENT
1862-1929

BISHOP BRENT

Crusader for Christian Unity

ALEXANDER C. ZABRISKIE



Philadelphia
THE WESTMINSTER PRESS

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To the memory of the Reverend Doctor
REMSEN BRINKERHOFF OGILBY
Priest, Missionary, Army Chaplain, Educator:
who as the first Headmaster of the Baguio School
made it one of the outstanding schools in the Orient; and
as President of Trinity College, Hartford,
strengthened its faculty, added to its plant, built its chapel,
and was the beloved pastor of the college community;
who was always primarily concerned to lead
the boys of his school,
the officers and men of his regiment,
the students and faculty of his college,
to the feet of Christ
that they might learn from Him, in his own words,
"that the end of life is a love of beauty,
a passion for the truth,
and the ability to live gallantly":
this biography of his friend
is dedicated.

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PRINCIPAL DEGREES AND DECORATIONS
CONFERRED ON BISHOP BRENT

Doctor of Divinity:

Toronto, 1901; King's College, 1911;
Harvard, 1913; Yale, 1919; Glasgow, 1920;
Trinity College, Hartford, 1921.

Doctor of Sacred Theology:

Columbia, 1920.

Doctor of Laws:

Rochester, 1922; Union College, 1924;
Toronto, 1924; New York University, 1925.

Companion of the Order of Leopold (Belgium).

Officer of the Legion of Honor (France).

Companion of the Order of the Bath (Great Britain).

Distinguished Service Medal (United States).

PREFACE

REMSEN BRINKERHOFF OGILBY UNDERTOOK A BIOGRAPHY OF BISHOP Brent shortly after the latter died. He was admirably qualified for the task. He knew by firsthand observation the Bishop's work in Boston, the Philippines, the A.E.F. He was a loyal colleague and intimate friend of Brent's, so devoted that the latter dedicated to him his *Mount of Vision* and called him "Fidus Achates." He knew the Bishop's mind from innumerable conversations and many letters, as well as from poring over his books, diaries, and correspondence. He had a very gifted pen. Those who would know and appreciate Brent will ever regret that Ogilby himself died in 1943 without finishing the book.

Early in the winter of 1944 Miss Helen C. C. Brent, the Bishop's sister and sole surviving literary executor, and Dr. Ogilby's family asked me to edit what Dr. Ogilby had written and to complete the story. They turned over to me all the vast amount of material he had assembled. They have been most generous and helpful in every way.

It turned out to be impossible to do exactly what was asked. It was necessary to write a new book—about two thirds of which is based largely on Ogilby's work—rather than to revise and complete his manuscript. He contemplated two volumes; publishers would consider but one, and the conditions of the trade forced that one to be cut several times.

In Chapters 1 to 8 and part of 12, I have made large use of his notes and preliminary drafts of chapters, doing very little independent investigation of the matters covered therein. Chapters 9, 10, 11, 13, and part of 12 are entirely my own.

I have followed a topical, rather than chronological, scheme because the Bishop's life was devoted largely to a few enterprises and several of these overlapped. A chronological scheme would involve a good deal of repetition, and would make it much more difficult for the reader to follow his work against the opium traffic and on behalf of Church unity.

Many people have helped me in addition to Miss Brent and the Ogilby family, and to all of them I am very grateful: especially to the Right Reverend Cameron J. Davis, D.D., and John Lord O'Brien for information about the Bishop's work in Western New York; to the Right Reverend Edward L. Parsons, D.D., for reading the typescript of Chapters 10 and 11 and for aiding me to appreciate the significance of the Stockholm Conference in Brent's career; to the Reverend F. W. Kates, M.A., who placed at my disposal his studies of the Bishop's published writings and read the typescript of several chapters; to Dr. Temple, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Principal Garvie, and the Reverend Floyd W. Tomkins, D.D., for invaluable information about Brent's work as president of the Lausanne Conference; to General Pershing for help in understanding Brent's contribution to Army families in the Philippines and to the A.E.F.; to George Wharton Pepper, and the Reverend Doctors James T. Addison and W. Russell Bowie for reading and criticizing the entire manuscript.

Acknowledgment is hereby made of the courtesy accorded to me by several publishers: to the American Society of International Law for permission to quote from its *Journal* excerpts of Bishop Brent's presidential speech at Shanghai; to the Student Christian Movement Press, Ltd., for permission to quote from Brent's sermon at the opening service at the Lausanne Conference, published in Bate's *Faith and Order*; to the Oxford University Press for permission to quote part of two of Brent's addresses at the Stockholm Conference published in Bell's *The Stockholm Conference on Life and Work*; to Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., for permission to reproduce lines from Percy's *Enzio's Kingdom*; to Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., for permission to

quote from Brent's *The Inspiration of Responsibility, The Mount of Vision, Understanding, and With God in the World*; to *The Churchman* for permission to quote from "The Years That Are Past," and to *My Neighbor*, for permission to reproduce part of Brent's reports contained therein. I also acknowledge my indebtedness to Burrows, *Diocese of Western New York, 1897-1931*, for information on Bishop Brent's episcopate in that diocese, and to the public documents dealing with the opium conferences. I have kept the footnotes to a minimum, but I believe the sources of all quotations are given except those from the Bishop's diaries and memoranda (my principal source of information on every topic) and a few conversations recorded in Ogilby's notes, such as those with Governors Taft and Forbes, Mrs. Houghton, the assistant manager of the Army and Navy Stores, London, and Sir Thomas Barlow.

I am also extremely grateful to Dr. Lehmann, of The Westminster Press, for very valuable suggestions. Though he forced me to curtail the final draft considerably below what I had intended, he also helped me to make it more readable. I am very happy that this biography of Bishop Brent is published by a publisher connected with the Presbyterian Church, for it is one more symbol of Church unity—the cause to which Bishop Brent was so devoted.

I can never be sufficiently grateful for the opportunity of working on this book. To have thought over some of the problems involved in the movement toward the reunion of Christendom under Bishop Brent's guidance has been very enlightening. Nothing could have been more valuable than to have made an intensive study of his inner life. He held that the meditative reading of the Gospels was an act of communion with the living Christ, and that is profoundly true. Likewise, to read his diaries and private prayers is to commune with one of the greatest Christian spirits of recent times.

A. C. Z.

Alexandria, Virginia

October, 1947

“Catholicity has nothing to recommend it unless it is the condition in which everything is measured and considered in terms of the whole.”

— *The Mount of Vision*, p. xiv.

PRINCIPAL DATES IN BISHOP BRENT'S LIFE

- 1862. Born April 9, Newcastle, Ontario.
- 1886. Ordained deacon.
- 1887. In charge of St. Andrew's Mission, Buffalo. Ordained priest. Met Father Hall.
- 1889-1891. With the Cowley Fathers in Boston.
- 1891-1901. Minister at St. Stephen's Church, Boston.
- 1901-1917. First missionary bishop of the Philippine Islands.
- 1909. President, First International Opium Commission, Shanghai.
- 1910. International missionary conference, Edinburgh. General Convention of the Episcopal Church: appointment to the Commission on Faith and Order.
- 1911. President, Second International Opium Commission, The Hague.
- 1918. Senior Headquarter's Chaplain, A.E.F.
- 1919-1929. Bishop of Western New York.
- 1920. Chairman of Geneva meeting to plan a world conference on faith and order.
- 1924. Last attendance at opium conferences.
- 1925. Delegate to the Meeting of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm; Chairman of the Faith and Order Continuation Committee meeting at Stockholm.
- 1927. President, World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne.
- 1929. Died, March 27, at Lausanne.

EARLY DAYS IN CANADA

The Home

THERE WAS LITTLE IN THE ATMOSPHERE OF NEWCASTLE, ONTARIO, in the 1860's to presage great breadth of interests or of influence for a boy brought up there. Yet one son of that quiet town—whose streets were really country roads—for the major parts of his life had his home in three crowded cities half a world apart—Boston, Manila, and Buffalo. Happy evenings with the village doctor changed into acquaintanceship with some of the world's great scientists. The protégé of the local carpenter and butcher subsequently was the friend of generals, the confidant of ambassadors, the adviser of Governments. The lad who was so excited at "seeing off" from the tiny station some adventurous soul bound for Toronto or Montreal became one of the most traveled men of his time. The boy who sat Sunday after Sunday in the little church where the discoloration on the plaster was as familiar as the bonnet of the senior warden's wife later preached often in the greatest cathedrals of England and America to packed congregations and presided over one of the most momentous gatherings of Christendom.

Among the factors that contributed to Charles Brent's development, one of the most important was his boyhood home. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as bishop, Brent paid tribute to the three influences which in retrospect seemed to him the most important in his life. "For three things I am deeply grateful—that I am a Canadian born and bred, that I had a mother who for character and spiritual culture was the peer of the best, and that a country rectory, where my father served for forty-two years, sheltered my young days. From my Canadian breeding I got that fine, just discipline, which held within

bounds a nature that could easily have gone on the rocks; to my mother's wise and loving influence I owe all the good that is in me; and it was my father's long rectorate in the little village where I was born that burned into my soul the high value of stability." His home was pervaded with culture—music, good books, university traditions of the old country—and with the warm security of profound Christian faith.

When his mother died, Brent wrote of her:

"Hers was a face in which strength and tenderness flowed into one another. It had in it some of the beauty of the Scotch hills where her fathers were bred. Its natural ruggedness was softened by cultivation and lighted by the radiance that shines outward from within. Interior excellence, indwelling moral dignity, marked her features with lines of strength. Sympathy resided in the gentle blue of her eyes, while determination and patience shared the possession of her mouth. She was born with the roar of great waters in her baby ears, and her girlhood days watched the restless gliding torrent moving from lake to lake. Perhaps it was from the river that she learned so well the lesson of purposeful activity that controlled her person from first to last. Perhaps, too, the music with which in after years she made so many glad was won during early days from the melody of the ripples, the tenor of the rapids, the bass of the cataract."

Her grandfather, Thomas Cummings, originally came from the Colony of New York, but he was a United Empire Loyalist and his fealty to his mother country impelled him, though a mere lad, to fight on the British side during the American Revolution. The atmosphere of the colonies was hardly congenial to his Loyalist spirit after the war ended, and so he pushed out beyond the boundaries of civilization, across the border, and at the age of twenty-three established himself on the Canadian bank of the Niagara River, above the falls but within the sound of the great cataract. He was the first white man to settle there, but a little community of *émigrés* quickly gathered around him, calling their town by the Indian name of Chippewa. Cummings shortly afterward married Jean Christie, the daughter of a fellow

United Empire Loyalist, and became the stalwart leader of a sturdy group.

Such, in brief, was the maternal inheritance of Charles Henry Brent. On the other side is the lineage of the Brent family, running back over centuries of English history. His grandfather, William Brent, and his grandmother, Mary Montfort Brent, strong Anglicans both, emigrated from London to Canada with their children. Their youngest son, Henry, was ordained and after a short ministry at St. Mark's, Barryfield, became rector of St. George's Church, Newcastle, Ontario, in 1854, four years later marrying Frances Cummings. In the parsonage next to the old church, on a hill just outside the town, Charles Henry Brent was born on April 9, 1862.

The elder Brent spent the rest of his life in Newcastle. In his latter days he was made a canon of the cathedral in Toronto, but he never was in residence there. He was a conscientious, hard-working pastor, much beloved by his people during his forty-three years of service. Because the town grew away from the old frame church on the hill he built a new one in the center of population, a beautiful building, the loveliness of which fostered the love of good architecture that later marked his son.

It was natural that the life of the rectory should center around the services of the Church. In later years Brent's zeal for Christian unity won respect because his devotion to the Church of his fathers was so obvious, and it was in the rectory and parish Church at Newcastle that that loyalty was born. Attendance at morning and evening services Sunday, at the Church School in the afternoon, and at evensong on Friday night, was taken as a matter of course. No toys were allowed on Sunday, but there were so many particular pleasures connected with that day that there was no impression of anything being forbidden. Memories of mother reading *The Pilgrim's Progress* after Sunday School, of coveted picture books for the little children, and of Sunday "high tea" remained throughout the years.

There were ten children in all, of whom Charles was the third. Three died in infancy, and four sisters survived the Bishop. The

death of one brother just after his first birthday, when Charles was but three years old, made a deep impression on him. Years later he wrote to his sister: "Curiously my earliest memory is of the funeral of my little brother, who died in 1865. I recall standing by the grave and wondering with child wonder. Well, nearly half a century later I still wonder as I stand by the grave. . . ."

The atmosphere of the rectory was a happy one. The parents won the unswerving trust and affection of their children. Mrs. Brent, an accomplished musician, gave them all—and especially her oldest son—not only the pleasure of hearing good music frequently but also a permanent love for it. She was their confidante to a degree which Mr. Brent, nineteen years her senior, was not. The father was greatly revered and loved. The children grew up to regard him as a loving and sage counselor and a completely just disciplinarian who, as they became sufficiently mature to make decisions for themselves, was always ready to give advice—and wise advice—when it was requested, but never willing to be the family autocrat. They were encouraged to think for themselves, to discuss matters freely, and they were taught to argue their differences without indulging in personalities. The family was a closely knit group, and perhaps its inherent unity and its vital religion were strong factors in laying the foundation for what later became the passionate desire of Charles' life—that all men might become united under the Lordship of Christ.

All through his life Charles paid tribute to his parents' memory by entries in his diary on their birthdays or by words of love on the anniversaries of their deaths. From a little town in the Philippines he wrote to a close friend that nothing in the past gave him more satisfaction than the realization that he had been something of a staff to his parents in their declining years, and that the greatest earthly happiness he could have would be further opportunities to cheer their paths and smooth away their troubles.

To understand Brent's later life it is important to appreciate

the environment in which he grew up. Civilization means taking certain values for granted, and Charles Brent learned in his childhood home to take for granted the united worship of a homogeneous parish, the friendliness of a community, the love of a closely knit family. He grew up to be the central figure of an official household instead of a home, the peace of his parochial horizon broadened into the anguish of a divided Christendom, he had to exchange the joys of a happy community for the most hideous war the world had ever seen. But though within his lifetime it became difficult to take anything for granted in the life of the community of persons, in the service of Christ's Church, or even in the family group, he always felt a trustee's obligation to preserve through a period of hectic change the values committed to him in the stable home of his boyhood.

School and University Days

Charles went to the Newcastle public school and later to its high school. Though he came into the full heritage of boyhood — fishing and games and tinkering with tools — he early showed unusual conscientiousness at his studies. His chief difficulty was with geometry, but he never went to bed until he had mastered the day's problems. Perhaps this was the reason that in an emergency, when the teaching staff was depleted, he was asked to teach in the primary department before he had graduated from high school.

For a long time it had been his ambition to attend Trinity College School at near-by Port Hope. This was a comparatively new school, prospering under the able administration of Dr. Bethune, and life there must have seemed as good in prospect as it did years afterward in retrospect. Brent entered in 1880, staying a little less than two years to prepare for the university. He participated to the full in the life of the school. Although interested in cricket, he never made the Eleven, but was very keen on football (Rugby, of course) and played fullback on the team.

After the Bishop's death, one of his juniors at Port Hope, General Archibald Cameron Macdonnell — for eighteen years an offi-

cer in the Northwest Mounted Police and later a distinguished commander in the First World War — wrote to Dr. Ogilby that Charles was distinguished for his strictness as a prefect but even more for his justice, for his hard studying but even more for his wisdom, for his fondness for games but even more for his devotion to duty. "I never in my life met a more wholesome man, big, broadminded, generous in word and deed and judgments, nothing petty, mean or haggling about him." Another schoolmate, H. C. Scadding, writing about him in 1931, remembered chiefly his love of music and his ability in musical comedies.

The services in the chapel moved him deeply. Sensitive to beauty in every form, the boy's spirit stirred to the rhythm and power of the prayer book and the King James version of the Bible, familiar to him from infancy, gaining new significance as his ability to appreciate such things increased. They made more intense his desire to grow into such inner integrity and single-mindedness that it would be impossible for him to act meanly. From the battlefields of France he wrote to the headmaster that men were fighting for what the school most stood for in his eyes — honor, truth, loyalty, discipline of soul and mind — and that the school's motto was the greatest ideal a boy could cherish: "Blessed are the pure in heart."

From Port Hope, Brent moved on to Trinity College in the University of Toronto. Here he exhibited again great thoroughness as a student, graduating with the degree of bachelor of arts in 1884. The classics were his chief studies, and he read much in the Greek New Testament in preparation for ordination. He also read Huxley and Darwin from whom, he wrote later, he learned more about the ethics of thinking than from all other teachers combined. "Think things through and you'll think things true," became one of his maxims. They led him to many questionings and doubts, and to a faith the stronger for having been tested. The list of his teachers at Trinity College included no particularly outstanding minds, but in the wealth of the opportunities of the old-fashioned curriculum to which he was exposed there was ample scope and discipline for his intellect.

After graduating from the university, Brent returned to the Port Hope school to teach for two years. He had the ministry clearly in mind, and was preparing himself for ordination. The only other profession that had any interest for him at all was music. The piano was the convenient vehicle for the music in his soul, but he played the organ with skill and became fairly proficient on the flute.

Supplementary reading in preparation for examinations for admission to Holy Orders during these two years of teaching at Port Hope completed the formal education of the future Bishop. The time spent in teaching, both in the local school in Newcastle and later after his graduation from the university, may well be considered as part of the learning process with which they were associated. His was the finest education that a boy from Newcastle in those days could receive. There is no evidence to indicate any emotional conversion or definite time of decision to enter the ministry. It was a steady development, giving the young man a rich background of culture as well as the theological knowledge requisite for ordination. Best of all, there was nothing terminal about that education: Bishop Brent retained the attitude of a humble learner all of his days.

EARLY MINISTRY

The First Year

AT THE CLOSE OF HIS PORT HOPE MASTERSHIP IN 1886 BRENT PASSED the examinations for Holy Orders set by diocesan authorities and was ordained to the diaconate by Bishop Sweatman at Toronto.

At that time there was no opening for him in the diocese of Toronto. Consequently the young man looked for a position in the State of New York. The fact that his ministry started in the United States rather than in Canada had a momentous effect upon his entire life; but it was circumstance rather than conscience or preference that sent him there. He had not the least intention of remaining permanently under the American flag; rather, he looked forward to returning to a Canadian country parish within a few years. The passionate devotion to the United States which was characteristic of him in later years was a matter of slow development as well as of accidental origin, and the dual citizenship which resulted from this accident played an important part in the evolution of his overwhelming desire for unity among men of all nations.

Brent's first position in the Church was that of organist as well as curate. To prepare himself further for the musical side of his position at St. John's, Buffalo, he went to New York City to spend some months studying the organ under the distinguished organist of Trinity Church, Dr. Messiter. It would be interesting to know more about these early days in New York City, but information is meager. Most of what is available is contained in a letter from his father which speaks with approval of the young man's visiting Churches of different ceremonial and parochial activities in order to learn the many-sided work of the ministry,

of his attempts to study human nature as it is revealed in a great city, and of the thoroughness of the musical training he was receiving. Imagination pictures the Canadian lad with a country upbringing walking the crowded streets of New York City rather in a daze.

The unusual combination of curate and organist did not last, and in the course of a few months it became obvious to young Brent and his friends that the ministry, as such, was his vocation. While still in deacon's orders he gave up his work at St. John's and became curate of St. Paul's Church, Buffalo, and was placed in charge of St. Andrew's Mission. This mission was his first real responsibility, and into it he threw himself with energy. He returned to Toronto for a short visit in 1887 to be ordained priest by Bishop Sweatman, but seems to have felt no regret at not finding work under him, for though the Bishop had a warm heart his stiff manner made his juniors self-conscious and eager to escape such heavy dignity.

In the summer of 1887 Brent attended a retreat for clergy conducted at Silver Bay by the Rev. A. C. A. Hall, at that time Superior of the House of the Society of St. John the Evangelist in Boston. This House was the headquarters of the American branch of a modern Anglican monastic order, one of the products of the Oxford movement. Its members were usually called the Cowley Fathers because the headquarters of the order was at Cowley, England.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of this retreat on Brent's development. It awakened his spiritual life as it had never been awakened before. He was strongly and immediately attracted to Father Hall and began a lifelong friendship. The two men became widely separated geographically; at times they were strongly opposed ecclesiastically; but nothing broke, or even seriously strained, their friendship. Hall was Brent's closest confidant, his most constant correspondent, and stood more nearly than anyone else in the relation of father-confessor to him. Brent asked him to preach the sermon at his consecration to the episcopate and again at the service just prior to his sailing

for the Philippines; and Hall also preached at the great memorial service in Buffalo after Brent's death.

The fact that Hall was an Englishman made it easy for the youthful Canadian to give him his full confidence from the start. The Cowley Father was, of course, an exemplar of the celibate life, and this made some appeal to the younger man. When they parted after this first meeting, the monk told Brent that if at any time he was thinking of changing his sphere of work he should consider Boston. This time was not long in coming.

Brent was very happy in the little mission of St. Andrew's. There were many simple folk in the congregation who won his heart, and among the leaders of the congregation he made some lifelong friends. Nearly forty years later, the *Buffalo News* wrote of him: "Old parishioners remember that energetic young man, how he played tennis, how he once stopped helpless in the middle of a sermon because he was determined to speak without notes and had thrown them away, how the children ran down the street after his carriage when he went away a year later." He might have labored long and effectively there if it had not been for a disagreement with his Diocesan about a detail of ritual which soon became magnified in the eyes of both into a matter of principle.

The Bishop of Western New York, Arthur Cleveland Coxe, was convinced that it was his responsibility to direct the ceremonial in missions and, so far as possible, to keep parishes from separating too far from the diocesan norm in such matters. A moderate High-churchman, he was strongly opposed to anything that smacked of Rome; candles on the altar at this time connoted to some a Romish tendency; and, accordingly, he told Brent in no uncertain terms that he could not have candles on the altar of St. Andrew's Mission. Brent was a law-abiding person and probably would not have contested the matter had he not known that such adornments were used in some parishes in the diocese. It seemed to him very unfair that he should be forbidden to do what others did. What he did not take into account was that while Episcopal canon law gives a bishop control over

the affairs of aided missions, it greatly restricts his authority in self-supporting parishes. He protested hotly against the Diocesan's intrusion and injustice. Bishop Coxe was a very determined man who insisted upon exercising his legal authority, and Brent's persistent protests seemed to him to go beyond the limits of the permissible. So serious became the breach between the Bishop and the curate that Brent came to the conclusion that he could no longer work in the diocese, and he began to look around for another field. The opportunity so recently offered him by Hall in Boston was fresh in his mind, and after careful consideration he went there for what resulted in thirteen years' residence in the city.

Trivial though the candles on the altar at St. Andrew's may seem now, they bulk large when we consider what may have been the effect upon Brent's mind and character. It was an important lesson for a young man to learn that unity within the Christian Church is an entirely different thing from uniformity; indeed, that the former may be prevented by trying to enforce the latter. Though as a bishop he maintained the full legal powers of his office, he not only tolerated but encouraged wide differences in ceremonial practice within his jurisdiction, and when insisting upon something in this or other spheres he was careful to explain his reasons and to do all in his power to win free acceptance of his ruling before resorting to his canonical authority. It is possible that some of his patience with impetuous or difficult clergymen was due to the lifelong impression made upon him by his break with Bishop Coxe.

With the Cowley Fathers

Boston in the nineties! Bronson Alcott, close friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson, died in 1888, the year Brent came to Boston, and in 1900, just one year before Brent's election as Bishop of the Philippine Islands terminated his residence in the city, James Michael Curley, later Mayor, Governor, and Congressman, was elected to the Common Council. From Emerson to Curley — most certainly that was a period of transition, and very few of

Boston's leaders appreciated the significance of what was happening. Alcott's desire for educational and social reform seemed revolutionary; his discontent with Unitarian preaching seemed sacrilegious or unreasonable. New thoughts and new ways of life were being generated which Boston soon had to accept. And one of the principal factors responsible for the new thoughts was Boston's darling across the river Charles, Harvard College.

At Cambridge, President Eliot for the guidance of his young men gathered an extraordinary group of philosophers—Royce, James, Münsterberg, and Palmer. Other great men there were on that faculty: Charles Eliot Norton, passionate apostle of the fine arts in a drab age; Shaler, fearlessly expounding the point of view of modern science; Santayana, plaintively wondering how misguided men could produce so much that was beautiful; Barrett Wendell, Briggs, and Eliot himself. These men were the revolutionaries of Boston's intellectual life.

Into the religious life of Boston two new elements were introduced in the last decades of the nineteenth century: a gradual increase in the power of the Roman Catholic Church and the dominating personality of Phillips Brooks. The fact that the rapid growth of the Roman Catholic Church was simultaneous with the entrance of Irish leadership in civic affairs in Boston was more than a coincidence, and certainly it was an additional evidence of the changing life of Boston. The return of Phillips Brooks to Boston from Philadelphia in the fall of 1869 had a profound effect upon the religious life of the city. At first the Unitarians were inclined to patronize him as one really of their own fold who by ecclesiastical accident had stumbled into the wrong Church, but his dynamic personality captivated everybody, and by the time the new Trinity Church on Copley Square was finished in 1877 he was the religious leader of the community. As a result, by the turn of the century the position of the Episcopal Church was thoroughly established in the minds of the older inhabitants of Boston and its members achieved a leadership in religious affairs far out of proportion to their num-

bers. President Eliot could never understand this—but it happened!

It was during these thirteen years in which the Boston of Alcott and Emerson was being changed into the Boston of O'Connell and Curley that a discredited curate from another diocese developed into the first missionary bishop of the Philippine Islands. While the transformation of the city was extraordinary, the development of the man was even more significant.

In many ways Brent's life with the Cowley Fathers in Boston was a satisfying one. Although he never entered the Order and never took the vows, he adapted his life contentedly to the monastic routine and won early values from its discipline, chiefly that of the ordered life. To the end of his days he was always master of his time and was able to accomplish vast amounts of work even in the midst of distractions. The habit of making time for hard study and for adequate and concentrated meditation, no matter how pressing other demands might be, became permanently fixed. The practice of the presence of God was developed and became the foundation not only of his piety but also of his intellectual life, for he learned to regard honesty in thinking as one of a man's major responsibilities to God. He expressed his retrospective gratitude in measured words in an article "The Years That Are Past," published in *The Churchman* of January 31, 1914: "I can conceive of nothing more admirable or productive of good results in the character and efficiency of a young priest than life in such an environment as I found myself in the Mission House of St. John the Evangelist, Boston. Simplicity of living, close attention to duty, and punctilious regularity are amiss at no time of one's career, but they are a whole education before a man's character is finally set. It may be that there are artificial features in conventual life but I experienced it in its best form, and can never have aught but affectionate and grateful memories of it."

His immediate associates were three men of marked ability and divergent gifts: Fathers Hall, Osborne, and Torbert. Again

and again in the pages of this book will allusion be made to the first of these three. A powerful figure of a man, Hall was a person of prodigious energy and industry. Brent early caught the inspiration of his enormous capacity for hard work. Although a loyal defender of the faith, Hall had a keen mind and a passion for accurate scholarship, with a fearlessness which often led him along untried paths that frightened more timid souls and prevented him from being a narrow partisan. He flung himself into his preaching with abandon; to hear him recite the Ten Commandments in the Communion service was a dramatic rebuke to evildoers. Elijah, John the Baptist, and Savonarola were all generous in giving of their spirit to him.

Osborne was a pastor and a teacher rather than a student. Though in his day there was little concern for religious education, his books of instruction for children made his name a household word in many a family. He loved people, and from him Brent got something of the technique for parochial ministration that made his later work so effective.

A very gentle soul was Torbert. He was the least conspicuous of the three men and never rose to high position in the Church. Hall, Osborne, and Brent all became bishops, but Torbert's metier was that of the parish priest. In quietness and confidence was his strength, for he lived close to God. It was largely from him that young Brent got the capacity to withdraw from the world and tread alone the paths which led to the very essence of reality. He certainly taught his junior associate something about the practice of meditation, and about the art of setting down in fugitive phrase the aspirations of the human soul.

The intense spiritual life of the Cowley Order has always expressed itself in missions, local and overseas. That became part of Brent's heritage. The first individual responsibility the Order assigned him in Boston was St. Augustine's Mission for Negroes. This early schooling in the spiritual care of colored folk, most of whom were very poor and not a few totally illiterate, was an important element in his preparation for work beyond the seas with people of another race and in the growth of his conviction

that the Christian Gospel could overcome all the human divisions of race and culture. "The Years That Are Past" gives us glimpses of his work.

"My special charge was St. Augustine's Chapel among the colored folk. Our chapel was a shabby little building. Early in my career I undertook to improve the interior with a few coats of paint. Unfortunately I mixed as well as applied my own colors, so that when the chapel emerged from the ordeal it looked like a boiled lobster, so brilliant was it with fiery red. One of my mortified parishioners confided to me that he was ashamed of it, for folks would think that it was the negroes who wanted it that color! Who has failed to love the colored people after working among them? The little children were dear, from chubby, yellow Nelly, who cheerfully sang out to me once when I did not happen to wear a cassock, 'Hello, Father Brent! You've got your pants on today,' and black Maria, decorated with a red feather over her nose, a green plush bodice and over-generous shoes, to George, who became distinguished by being chosen by a publishing company to decorate with his face the frontispiece of a new edition of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' We had sinners. In those days the back of Beacon Hill was a sorry place. The uttermost dregs of black and white lived there, and many a heartbroken tale I listened to as derelicts lay dying. I early became familiar with the State Prison, for we frequently had lambs of our flock there. On one occasion Frank had been in durance vile for thieving. As soon as he was released he returned to Sunday School. That Sunday, the Sister teaching his class asked him to recite his Duty toward his Neighbor. He proceeded until he came to the words, 'to keep my hands from picking and stealing.' 'Look here, Sister Anna,' he added, 'next time you have anything personal, you'd better ask someone else!'"

It is profitable to remember these years in Boston under the Cowley Rule in striving to understand Charles Henry Brent in the maturity of his later years. He regarded himself at this time as an Anglo-Catholic. He went very far in his approach to the monastic life and took part *con amore* in services elaborate in

ceremonial — though always without the fussiness of detail that sometimes destroys the meaning and the value of true ritual. Father Hall encouraged this attitude: he was too genuine a person to forget that ritual was made for man, and not man for ritual. In all probability Brent would have joined the Order if it had not been for an unexpected incident. He was almost ready to take the vows of a novice when his sense of justice was outraged by an act of the Superior of the Order.

At this time Phillips Brooks was at the height of his power as rector of Trinity Church, Boston, and on the death of Bishop Paddock his friends brought his name forward as candidate for Bishop of Massachusetts. Brooks's position on many points vital to the program of the High-Church group was a matter of common knowledge, and there was a great wave of antagonism to his election. Hall was expected to lead the bitter-end opposition. He did not vote for Brooks in the election, but afterward he signed the certificate of election and also as a member of the Standing Committee voted to ratify it. The two men had long labored in neighboring parishes that had no geographical boundaries, and continued association had bred mutual respect and real friendship. Alike in physical stature and in zeal for the Kingdom of God, they understood each other in spite of ecclesiastical differences. When it became known that Hall thus forwarded Brooks's consecration some old American acquaintances denounced him in unmeasured terms. Furthermore, there had been some friction between him and the authorities of the Order in England, and to the latter Hall's acquiescence in Brooks's election seemed the last straw. The Superior recalled him to England.

To Brent this seemed unbearable. Knowing the great influence Hall exercised in Boston, not only in the Order but also in the community, it was monstrous in his eyes that an English ecclesiastic who knew nothing at first hand of the needs of Massachusetts should have the right and the inclination to discipline him and call him back to Oxford. He went to England with his chief in November, 1891, and told the Father Superior of the Order face to face what he thought of his action.

With this definite gesture he slammed the door of the monastery forever behind him. The vow of poverty would have been easy for him; celibacy he accepted willingly when it became obvious to him that it was God's will that he should do his work unmarried; but the vow of obedience was one he could never accept. It did violence to what he knew to be the most precious part of his life: free conformity to God's will. Sixteen years later he reviewed in his mind the intense struggle of those days and wrote in his diary: "My early vows and aspirations under God may now take on a refined and final shape. That of poverty should make me content with a minimum rather than a maximum salary. Obedience should be loyalty to the great trust that liberty and the necessity of regulating and determining one's own activities imposes. Celibacy should lead me by the hand to the heights of chivalry and purity whether in singleness of life as seems to be the better course or in married life should God so determine for me."

His trip to England with Hall was his first ocean voyage. One day he took part in a missionary service at which an Indian Quaker spoke against the opium traffic. Little did Brent realize how many voyages lay before him, how often he would preach at sea, how great a part the opium trade was to play in his life.

TEN YEARS IN THE CITY WILDERNESS

St. Stephen's Church

IN 1890 THE VESTRY OF THE CHURCH OF THE MESSIAH, LOCATED ON Florence Street, in what is now called the South End, decided to move to the Back Bay, and wanted to sell their building. When Phillips Brooks became Bishop of Massachusetts the following year, the first project he espoused was to secure that building as a center for the work of the City Mission. "It is the best opportunity that has been offered since the great fire for the re-establishment of St. Stephen's Church and House," he wrote Robert Treat Paine. "It would fulfill the plan of a great powerful establishment for that region which you have always had. It would cost a great deal of money to carry on. Everything, you see, is in its favor. And the men would certainly appear. Oh, it is the men we want. If we only had them!"

The money was secured. The property was bought and renamed St. Stephen's after the chapel on Purchase Street which had been the City Mission headquarters until it was destroyed in the great fire of 1872. Then men came forward. Their names were Henry Martyn Torbert and Charles Henry Brent. Both were immediately available, for Torbert, like Brent unable to tolerate Hall's recall to Cowley, had left the Order. The two men volunteered to venture together in what everyone regarded as the most blighted area in the whole city. Brent, by now convinced that his ministry was to be in the United States, took out his naturalization papers. Loyalty to the country wherein he was to live and by whose institutions he was to be protected, seemed to him to demand the assumption of a citizen's responsibilities. This step did not in the least abate his love for his mother

country: it made him yearn that the two nations should be related as closely as possible.

It is difficult to conceive any opportunity in the Church that would have given Brent a more thorough training or a wider field for the development of his powers. Though his initial experience in Buffalo had shown him — country born and bred — something of the life of an American city, and though his mission work at St. John the Evangelist's had given him some knowledge of Boston, the challenge of the South End was far more exacting. Before, he had simply been meeting the needs, economic and social as well as spiritual, of small congregations of Church people struggling to maintain themselves; now it was the responsibility for the welfare of an entire neighborhood that confronted him.

Think then of these two men, Torbert and Brent, suddenly removed from the happy discipline of monastic life and flung into sordidness and squalor of which they had been only dimly aware. It was a time of testing. From the first the demands made upon them were insistent, and though they maintained always the essence of the monastic life together, it was no longer an end but simply a source of strength by which they were able to face impossible tasks. Though they were no longer supported by the benevolent rigor of an enforced rule of life, the rigorous training to which they had been subjected had given them the capacity to govern themselves. That training was of inestimable value in helping them to stand the strain of life on Florence Street in a decade which for them could hardly be called "the Gay Nineties."

The relations between the two men were perfect. In a sermon preached on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as bishop, Brent said to Torbert: "There we worked, side by side, as brothers, though Torbert was the priest in charge, until God took him ten years later. A more gentle, understanding soul never breathed. I would much rather accept his instinctive conclusions than the reasoned findings of most men. He came more

nearly to having a right judgment in all things than any other man I have ever known.

"He did much to cure me of snap judgments and quick temper. When an irritating occurrence happened he always approached it with prayer and a sane and quiet mind. His considerateness of me, his junior in years and subordinate in office, was a model for all rectors. He shared everything, preaching, services, visiting, on absolutely equal terms. When death broke our partnership I could look back on nearly fifteen years of loving companionship without misunderstanding or shadow. A more loyal and united congregation never existed than that to which we jointly ministered. It was the pastoral work which held it together."

There is no better way of giving a picture of the building up of St. Stephen's parish in the South End than by looking at it through the eyes of Brent himself. The reports he prepared for publication in *My Neighbor*, the magazine of the Episcopal City Mission, and articles written for other magazines in order to win support for this new work, give an indication of how this young man was working at social problems.

Brent's report for 1895 dealt with the function of a mission Church in its community. Between the lines is the story of how the young curate had to revise some of his preconceived notions as to what the Church could do for the religious life of those in acute material need or in the degradation of vice. Some of these conclusions he later carried into the mission field overseas. Insisting that the effort to lay down one program for every City Mission chapel is a revelation of ignorance and amateur speculation, he suggested six general principles to guide and inspire the staff of such an institution. They must come without preconceived plans, work with the existing organizations, and learn conditions before formulating new policies. Realizing that their task is to alter the tone of the entire community and minister to every soul according to its capacity to receive rather than to serve the devout few who come to them, they must conduct services of various types and not confine themselves to the Prayer

Book. "The Liturgy is less intelligible than Hebrew to the ordinary run of the uninstructed, the Godless and the indifferent." They must recognize that the chief fruit of their work will be the development of a moral conscience, perhaps on a very elementary level, among their neighbors, and not strive to make them communicants of the Church before they are desirous of becoming so and properly prepared for the responsibilities of that status. The effectiveness of a mission depends on the continuity of its work, and that, in turn, depends on the permanence and unity of its staff. People should not be accepted as workers, whether clerical or lay, who look upon such an engagement as a steppingstone to some more desirable position. Organizations, though necessary, are entirely secondary and likely to usurp the primary place: making the influence of Christ felt in the lives of people is the end of all Church work, and for that end sympathy, character, and Christian devotion are more needed than machinery.

The report of the first four years of St. Stephen's Mission gives an impression of busy organization meeting varying needs, of character building, and of an awakening sense of responsibility for attack upon social problems. Even more important, it shows that Brent had come to feel himself part of the community, and he had become convinced that no person really lived until he knew that he was related — not in any mystical or transcendental sense but as a fellow human being — to the people of every rank and condition whom he met in his daily activities. He speaks thankfully of the closing up of a red-light district, but wonders what has become of the girls, often more sinned against than sinning, who had been their neighbors and friends. He mentions appreciatively the various settlement houses that had been begun in the South End since his own advent — the Denison House, the Dorothea House, the Lincoln House, the Hale House — and he comments on the excellent boys' club begun by some Harvard students, and of the equally fine work being done by a similar Jewish organization. He tells of the expansion of the enterprises in St. Stephen's House and of the well-planned and smoothly

running organizations, but adds that the staff is not satisfied, for they know that in comparison with what God wills their accomplishments have been small. "Our best prayer is that we may be found after four years more with many fewer neglects and faults than those which stare us in the face today."

Then there is a suggestion that is charming in its naïveté and thoroughly Brentine in its idealism: that when the residents of Beacon Street leave for the country in the summer, they turn over their mansions to their less favored brothers and sisters of the South End. The idea was fantastic, and yet by its compelling idealism he actually persuaded some of his rich friends to try it. The results, as might have been expected, were far from happy.

In December, 1900, Brent wrote his last report for *My Neighbor*. It showed how the work had grown, and indirectly revealed his own growth as an administrator of a complex organization. "Nine fleet years have sped their way since we took possession of this field—years full of differentiations which we hope are signs of progress. Various societies and guilds have sprung into life and are flourishing with more or less vigor; the Mission Room with its Lodging House and woodyard is quite an old story; the house at 5 Garland Street is the taming ground of many sturdy representatives of boyhood; St. Stephen's House hides various phases of energy; and St. Anne's House is a valuable adjunct of our parochial establishment. But the evolution still proceeds with its differentiations. This Fall saw the opening of St. Stephen's Neighborhood House at 3 Garland Street, under the supervision of an earnest committee and a competent corps of workers. The kindergarten which is also in this department of our work continues to meet in St. Stephen's House. The Neighborhood House is the development of a modest little venture known as the Children's Laundry, begun many years back, and so zealously mothered by Mrs. Wethern as to burst its swathing bands and break out fresh on Garland Street. Under its roof child life is tutored in the simple household arts and brought

into touch with the beautiful and the good. This is our latest expansion; we believe that God is with us in our work and we shoulder our responsibility under the inspiration of this belief, even though at times anxiety regarding means of support knocks loud at the door and we cannot see all the way before us to the end."

While the young city missionary was drafting this report he seems to have been too busy to pay attention to the seething agitation of the anti-imperialists all around him in Boston, protesting against the occupation of the Philippines. As he flung himself with his usual ardor into preparation for the Christmas festivities of his various organizations, he was ignorant of the very existence of those future Army friends of his who were lying in bivouac throughout the Islands, planning their meager Christmas; also in supreme ignorance of the fact that he would soon travel halfway around the world to interpret to them the Christ-child and change the whole course of their lives.

Citizen, Churchman, Writer, and Friend

Brent's years in Boston furthered his development as a man. It profoundly affected his convictions about the responsibility of a citizen for the community in which he lived and worked. Newcastle was of the dimensions of a country town which inspired affection but did not arouse a sense of municipal responsibility. The years in Boston forced him to face the evils and difficulties inherent in crowded city conditions, and compelled him to come to grips with municipal problems. He developed a sense of responsibility for the structure of his community and for the functioning of its government. Therefore, although most of his later utterances on the general subject of citizenship were in national terms, he was always keenly alive to the need of the city in which he lived. More than once he aroused the consciences of the American inhabitants of Manila, forcing them to face issues of right and wrong. When he settled in Buffalo, his final home, he brought to bear upon its problems his reasoned convictions as to

city living. In both places he became the mouthpiece of the more ethically enlightened and sensitive. Boston prepared him for that position.

Brent realized in those days in Boston that his contribution to the solution of the problems of congestion, poverty, bad government, and sin was a spiritual one. That was his vocation; and he was originally, and remained to the end, convinced that the way out was along the lines of the Christian ethic; and that to make the Christian ethic operative, it was essential to develop resolute Christians who from their worship derived the vision and strength needed to live as Christians. A week of his busy round of parish calls, of domestic emergencies, of individual catastrophes and moral upheavals, left him worn and weary on Saturday night; but on Sunday morning when he bowed before the altar he knew that his feet were planted in the pathway that led to peace. For he believed implicitly that the Sacrament of Holy Communion was an occasion when Christ gave himself afresh to faithful worshippers.

At St. Stephen's, Torbert and Brent were free to follow their own ideas about liturgical ceremonial. They used in the services color, light, and pageantry; but the ritual was never carried to a point where it might seem artificial even to the most critical eye. It was adapted to the needs of the people. The lives of most of the residents of the South End were dull, drab, and sordid. When they came to the house of God on Sunday morning, hungry for spiritual refreshment, they had to be reached through their imaginations and emotions as well as their minds. The great drama of redemption as enacted in the Eucharist, dramatized by symbolic actions and beautiful vestments, in which they participated by singing the simple musical settings under the leadership of a choir made up of their sons and brothers and by receiving the consecrated bread and wine, satisfied them. Throughout his life Brent maintained that ceremonial should be adapted to the congregation, and always he preferred for himself a service akin to those of St. Stephen's.

His doctrinal views at this period were the orthodox Catholic

ones, held firmly but in a liberal spirit. He was no literalist. He read science avidly and was quite prepared to accept assured discoveries, confident that truth was one, and that truths learned by science and truths revealed through the Bible and the Church would someday be seen to be mutually complementary. He wrote Hall in 1899 that if science could discover precisely how Christ was present in the Eucharist, it would make that Sacrament more wonderful to him than ever.

The unfortunate controversy over the election of Bishop Brooks had aroused a spirit of partisanship in Massachusetts, but when his lamentably brief episcopate was followed by that of the wise and statesmanlike William Lawrence, there could be no rancor within the diocese. Bishop Lawrence and Brent became close friends, with a mutual appreciation of each other that stood every test of time and distance. For the first time in his clerical experience, Brent knew what it meant to be serving under a Diocesan who was something more than an ecclesiastical superior.¹ The experience made him want to be the friend of his clergy when he himself became a bishop. Bishop Lawrence not only appreciated Brent's ability but also understood him—in itself a tribute to the extraordinary capacity for sympathy latent in William Lawrence. The friendship of men whose views were as different as Father Hall's and Bishop Lawrence's contributed to Brent's ability to appreciate and understand people of diverse outlooks, and this ability in turn fitted him for leadership in the cause of unity.

The number and the wide range of Brent's writings are a tribute to his prodigious energy and to the discipline of his monastic days. He began publishing while at St. Stephen's. His ability to find time for writing books as well as many magazine articles, sermons, and letters amid the hectic labors of that parish was the direct result of his training in the devotional life. For part of his devotional practice was meditation, and this process demanded

¹ Brent had not had the opportunity to become intimately acquainted with Bishop Brooks, whom he admired greatly. Contrary to most opinion, he thought Brooks greater as a pastor than as a preacher.

the concentration of all his powers of thought and imagination upon his subject. He learned to ignore external conditions in the intensity of this activity. Usually he undertook his meditation pen in hand. The act of recording his thoughts helped his concentration. It led naturally to what became his well-established habit of praying with his pen as well as on his knees; it meant also that most of his sermons drew heavily on insights gained in prayer, and that his books grew out of his worship. In order that his pen might keep up with his thoughts he developed a system of abbreviations, though, fortunately for his biographer, he never learned shorthand.

The least satisfying part of his literary output are the volumes containing reprints of sermons and occasional addresses. His friends bought them and read them, sometimes with a sense of disappointment, for when there were subtracted the ring of his voice and the glow of his enthusiasm the residue was less cogent. His books written originally to be read have more vitality today. The little work *With God in the World*, published in 1899, is still an extremely useful discussion of prayer. Most of his later convictions about prayer were developments of the ideas recorded in this book. *The Consolations of the Cross*, published in 1902 after he had reached Manila but in its first draft a series of Good Friday addresses delivered at St. Stephen's, presented the cross as the source of consolation to the afflicted, and revealed a gift for phrasing as well as long study and hard thought. His later book on the cross, *The Mount of Vision*, written in 1917, is less polished, but more passion shines through the words, and Calvary is no longer chiefly a source of consolation but of vision, contrition, inspiration. Time and experience affected his style and changed his perspective.

No account of Brent's development during those ten years in the city wilderness would be complete without mention of his friends. His work made him known far beyond the confines of Boston. Invitations to preach in various Churches multiplied, and he was especially in demand to conduct conferences and retreats. Wherever he went he made new friends. He was as much be-

loved by the boys from the great preparatory schools who while at Harvard helped with the boys' clubs at St. Stephen's as by the South End boys among whom he lived; by his acquaintances in the wealthy suburbs as by his neighbors in St. Stephen's.

When Brent died it was said of him that he had more friends than any other man of his time. The roll of his friends was certainly long to the point of marvel, and even more worthy of wonder because of its diversity. The dignified statesman honored by his country, and the lonely, dissolute squaw man in the Philippine mountains had nothing in common except the fact that both basked in the sunshine of the Bishop's friendship. Warriors and ecclesiastics, pagans and Christians, lovers and little children — one could drag out antitheses indefinitely to make up the noble army of men and boys, the matron and the maid. What is the answer? Did he have any special technique, or did it just happen?

The answer begins and ends in the fact that he loved them all. St. Stephen's taught him lessons in this art: the art of immediate giving forth of personality in response to human need, the art of inspiring others with a satisfactory and unifying devotion by getting them to work together for God and the furthering of his Kingdom on earth. Giving himself to people, inspiring them with his vision, and getting them to work with him and his colleagues and each other: this was his secret which he learned increasingly in Boston and acted on all his life. It was also the secret of his usefulness to a particular group. Into the congregation of St. Stephen's came a number of social workers, pioneers in the great movement for betterment that has expressed itself in charity organization societies, community chests, and the best aspirations of the New Deal. Robert Wood, the leader of this movement in Boston while Brent was at St. Stephen's, and some of his colleagues found in the church on Florence Street the shrine at which to worship and in Brent their priest to lead them to God.

Brent's leadership was the chief source of the strength of that little Church. St. Stephen's could not be self-supporting, for very

few of its worshipers who lived in the neighborhood could make any significant contribution to the upkeep of the house of the Lord. Most of the funds raised within the parish came from the friends who had been parishioners of the Cowley Fathers and then transferred their membership to St. Stephen's. Eventually a few other people of means were attracted—some from less vital parishes and some who had no previous Church connection. These folk gave important financial support, but that was never the end. Each newcomer somehow felt admitted into friendship with Torbert and Brent, and were glad of an opportunity to share in all the work.

It was a real sharing. In the history of the Christian Church there have been unfortunate occasions where a monastery, an institution of learning, or a parish Church was supported by a few persons getting self-satisfaction out of their benevolence, while a different group crowded in to get the loaves and the fishes. Where there was no human or spiritual relationship between the two groups something quite different from a Christian fellowship resulted. This was never the case at St. Stephen's, for the contagion of the leaders' devotion to their work was such that their newly found friends gave themselves with their gifts. In fact, when a person of means offered a contribution, Brent generally asked for his personal service as well. Throughout his whole career, he was more interested in winning people to work for Christ and to find newness of life in Christ than to give their money. Perhaps that is why he was so successful later on at recruiting some splendid workers and at raising funds.

Unquestionably Brent's years in the more sordid part of a great city contributed greatly to his development. He learned to love all sorts of people, instinctively and as God's children. They loved him in return. In his passionate desire to labor for their welfare he was led to see how their environment conditioned their possibilities and also how essential it was for all agencies concerned with their needs to work together co-operatively. This same yearning to further the welfare of *all* his people reinforced

his determination to bind them into Christian fellowship, so that the more fortunate and the more underprivileged might each grow from association with the other, and to help them to work together for Christ. Certainly this helped to fashion the man who later became so strong a leader in the cause of Christian unity.

THE CALL OVERSEAS

Election as Bishop of the Philippines

ON THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 8, 1901, THE BISHOP OF NEW YORK, Henry Codman Potter, sent to Charles Brent from the House of Bishops then meeting in San Francisco an entirely unexpected telegram asking whether there were any providential hindrances to his acceptance, if elected, of the bishopric of the Philippine Islands. Brent's immediate response was: "Willing and rejoiced to sacrifice myself to the utmost for the missionary cause. Possible family complications. Consult Lawrence and Hall who know the situation."

During that day Brent consulted three intimate friends: a colleague in the ministry, a wise woman, and a layman. The men thought the opportunity was glorious; the woman was strongly against his going. He wrote in his diary that night: ". . . . Something within me holds me back. I wonder if my physical condition is all right for the tropics. Am I equal to such a responsible post—not unless thou, O Lord, workest for me and in me. . . . I have interior misgivings. But I believe God will guide. I must not be anxious or disturbed but go on as though nothing unusual had occurred. Whatever tomorrow may bring forth I can best prepare for it by doing today's duty."

The next morning Brent reviewed the situation. His diary shows that the call both depressed him and greatly appealed to him, overshadowing the possibility of his joining the faculty of the General Theological Seminary which had begun to bulk large in his mind. The following day he was sure he would not be elected. "The more I think of it the less likely is it that Lawrence and Hall will advocate me for the Philippines. They were both so keen for the Seminary—and then the latter knows my

family concerns. Today I feel a sense of relief. I wonder if it is cowardly to wish not to be chosen for the task."

On the eleventh, word came of his election.

"The news came to me as a thunderbolt out of a blue sky. I did not realize how completely I had dismissed the thought of the possibility of election. Bishop Lawrence's telegram is grand: 'Elected by Bishops Bishop of Philippines first ballot very handsome majority. Deputies still to act. Congratulations. Sympathy. God guide you.' Close on its heels came one from my dear friend Bishop Hall: 'Election almost unanimous by Bishops — exceeding sorry for Seminary but Philippines very special opportunity.' The first feeling is one of exhilaration. The trust is a glorious one and the Church bids me accept it. Then, too, this is a recognition of the reality of my American citizenship. I rejoice in that. Our first colony, and I am chosen by the Church to go as citizen and Bishop. The deputies are still to act but I imagine it is a foregone conclusion that they will confirm. If God permits me to go to the front it may be I can by new consecration and zeal end my life nobly and in accordance with His will. The call is to lay foundations. What a company it is I am asked to join — St. Paul, St. Augustine of Canterbury, St. Francis Xavier, Steere, the Selwyns! This is the greatest honor the Church can confer."

That night he slept badly, and the following morning he was in "the abyss of depression." Through the day he recovered poise and determined to preach to his congregation on security in peril. On the night of Sunday the 13th he wrote: "Congregation filled the church. Preached from Eph. 4:30. Sealed by the Holy Spirit means possessed by Him, so secure in any trouble. 'In His will is our peace.' Shall do His will in this present crisis. People very steady and helpful to me."

It is significant that he uses the quotation from Dante, "In His will is our peace." This sentence gives one of the main themes of his life. It occurs frequently in his diaries. In every emergency he strove to find out what was God's will, and when he felt that he was adjusting his will to God's purpose he always found peace.

Brent's diary for the rest of October is largely a record of his attempts to decide on the right course of action. He was convinced that work in the tropics meant the shortening of his life, for although he was in good health his temperament was such as to lead to overexertion and collapse. But this thought did not dismay him. To break down a few years sooner was no great matter; to die a little earlier was of no consequence; but such deliberate sacrifice was justifiable only if some good end could be accomplished, such as getting the Church started on a secure foundation. This, in turn, depended on having adequate equipment. So he determined to ask for ten men, an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars, and fifty thousand for land and buildings. The property was a minor consideration; but the men, adequately supported, were indispensable. Without such a staff nothing could be done worthy of the Church and its Lord. It were better to continue at St. Stephen's than to embark on a venture foredoomed to failure. This was the Church's first attempt in a Spanish-speaking colony; its earlier attempts in Latin countries were so wretchedly supported that they discredited the Church. He was unwilling to be a party to another attempt made under similar impossible handicaps. Therefore, though he decided as early as October 18 to accept his election if guaranteed sufficient support, he noted in his diary that he had notified the Bishops and the Missionary Society that he would decline unless satisfied that he would not be left to make bricks without straw. During these days Bishop Lawrence advised him to decline on the grounds that he was better fitted for work in St. Stephen's or a seminary, and that he probably would not be properly supported. Bishop Hall advised him to accept even without guarantees of the support he wanted, on the ground of his fitness for the task, and to trust the Church to furnish him the men and the money he needed.

On November 15 he formally accepted the post without waiting for the answer to his demands, and arranged for his consecration to take place on December 19.

The Consecration

Popular interest in the Philippine Islands was running high when Brent was elected bishop. The news of Commodore Dewey's victory in Manila Bay on May 1, 1898, caused newspaper editors all over the country to dash madly for encyclopedias, for at that time not one reporter in ten could have told where the Philippine Islands were located, and not one proof-reader in a hundred could have spelled "Philippines" correctly. Even Brent when elected had to turn to an atlas. But events followed thick and fast, and after the formal acquisition of the Islands by the United States under the Treaty of Paris the problem of their status was much discussed. The fact that troops and schoolteachers were being sent out in large numbers brought the situation home to many American households.

Boston was the center of a group who from the first felt that America was making a grave mistake in undertaking any responsibility for an Asiatic archipelago. Furthermore, many Episcopalians thought it was wrong to send missionaries to an area where Roman Catholicism had long been intrenched. These two issues had bulked large in the discussions young Brent had had with his Boston friends since his election. His acceptance carried with it an implication of an answer to the second question: he was ready to go as a missionary bishop to a group of peoples who had been for centuries under the guidance of the Church of Rome. The first question—that of independence for the Filipinos—troubled him for the rest of his life.

It was with a realization of these problems that plans were made for his consecration. The people of St. Stephen's Church would have preferred to have their pastor elevated to the episcopate in their own Church, but it was manifestly too small, and those in charge of the consecration gratefully accepted the offer of the rector and wardens of Emmanuel Church to have the service in their building. Brent left Boston for a few days of quiet before the consecration, days spent with his spiritual father of Cowley days, Arthur Hall, who had become Bishop of Vermont.

Eleven bishops, including two missionaries — Rowe, of Alaska, and Kinsolving, of Brazil — testified by their presence to the importance of the commission to be given to this young man. Bishop Doane, of Albany, acted as consecrator with Lawrence, of Massachusetts, and Satterlee, of Washington, as coconsecrators. Russell Talbot and Thatcher Kimball, the clergy staff of St. Stephen's Church, the former of whom was going out to the Philippines as a missionary, were attending presbyters to the Bishop-elect, and about 130 other clergy were in the procession.

Gradually the weight of new responsibility was laid on the shoulders of the young Bishop. As the service took its impressive course, those present began to realize something of the life to which he was going, and he himself felt the hands of his brothers on his head as a seal of power. Bishop Hall's sermon, delivered with fire and vigor, was a stirring charge to his son in the faith. His text, constantly repeated in the sermon, was: He "hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation" — a tribute to service already realized and a prophecy of what was to come. With characteristic directness he attacked the contention that the Episcopal Church had no moral right to send missionaries to a country in which for three centuries Roman Catholicism had been the state religion, arguing that the Episcopal Church was in duty bound to make available to people who could not accept the Roman presentation of Christianity a version which its exponents believed to be true to the teaching of Christ, with the sacraments and ministry ordained by Him. He then sketched the role of the new Bishop in the Philippines. He was to be the conscience of the American military and civil administrators, and also must provide them with the spiritual resources needed for fulfilling their ideals under the difficult conditions of tropical life. He must be the teacher and shepherd of the natives of the Islands. By doing these things he could perform the indispensable function of reconciling Americans and Filipinos. And always he must proclaim to all men, regardless of race or culture, the unsearchable love and the inexorable ethical commands of Jesus Christ, and bring all into the fellowship of the Spirit. Brent's life in the Philippines was an

attempt to fulfill the vision unfolded in the sermon. Increasingly he thought of himself as a minister of reconciliation.

The Voyage Out

Brent was elected in October, consecrated in December, and sailed for the Philippines in May. The intervening months were spent in preparation for his new task. He studied all he could about the Islands and their inhabitants. He visited several times all the leading cities on the Atlantic Coast, and took trips to California and the Midwest, trying to get support, personal and financial, for his work. Near San Francisco he attended the funeral of thirty soldiers who had died in the Philippines. He wondered whether he too was not to meet his end in the Islands, and expressed the hope that, like them, his casket would be draped with the American flag, but that, unlike them, he would be buried where he died. The combination of religion and patriotism comes out in his further comment: "May I keep my motive pure. Now I am single-minded. I have but one desire — to serve God and my country. If I do this it makes little difference whether life is long or short, whether I am here or there. Time is eternity; here is there."

His diary reveals how grueling he found this traveling, speaking, and raising money, especially the last. The effort to persuade people to give him funds was extremely distasteful: he hated the role of salesman, and it seemed to him altogether below the Church's dignity to force its missionary bishops to adopt it. The unaccustomed schedule of much travel and many interviews by reporters was in itself wearing and depressing, and misrepresentation in the newspapers annoyed him. In later years, all this became familiar, but now it was a novel and hateful slavery.

But other entries show that when he thought and prayed about the Philippines an altogether different mood came on him. On January 1, 1902, he writes: "A new year stretches out before me — full of romance and the companions of romance, pain and hardship. May God make me his docile, happy servant, all through the unborn future. 'E la sua volontate è nostra pace.'"

Of great importance was a trip to Washington where he met President Theodore Roosevelt, the Cabinet officers with responsibilities in the Philippines, and the newly appointed Governor General, William Howard Taft. The President told him to feel free to communicate directly with the White House whenever he desired, an invitation of which the Bishop availed himself most significantly when he learned the consequences of the opium traffic.

The Bishop sailed for the Orient in company with Governor Taft. They went via Europe because Taft was bound first for Rome to attempt to reach a settlement about the Friars. Forced to evict the Friars because the intense Filipino opposition to them made order impossible as long as they remained, the American Government offered a handsome compensation for their property, and when this was rejected, opened negotiations with the Vatican.

This voyage with the Governor and his party considerably affected Brent's point of view. It meant that he began his work with an outlook different from most of his missionary colleagues; for he had acquired an understanding of the best type of American administrators and their problems, high regard for their aims and characters, and a deepened conviction that part of his duty was to help them to fulfill their responsibilities, both by ministering to them and also by assuming the responsibilities not only of an ecclesiastic but also of a statesman. It also gave him a lifelong friendship with Mr. Taft. An interesting note occurs in his diary on August 12: "The Governor and I discussed the fate of any man who accepts a position of leadership. . . . Misunderstanding and calumny must be expected. It helps to make the characters of men who are brave and quiet under it."

While the Governor and his party were in Rome, Brent spent a few days in the city, gaining a permanent appreciation for some Italian works of art and attending a great service in St. Peter's at which he saw the Pope, and then went to the Alps. Mountains always exhilarated him physically and spiritually. Stiff climbs challenged his powers and made him realize the unused forces in

his nature; the views of the glaciers and the exquisite flowers delighted him; the toil and the risk involved in dangerous climbs, decried by some as unjustifiable, seemed to him a moral tonic, adding tone and intensity to the will. One quotation from the many in his diary about the mountains illustrates his attitude.

"The fog is on the mountains. It does not look propitious for tomorrow's climb. But I must climb something worth while. It has a good moral effect on me. It is not a useless expenditure of force: it is an effort of the will that gives it new tone and elasticity. I can understand mountaineers being sturdy in character — which I am not. Perhaps if I lived in the mountains I might be. . . .

"These days in the mountains have been a godsend. I did not realize when I set sail how great a strain I had been under and how I had wilted. I only hope people will not think I have been remiss in not going on. However, I know I shall do better work for this rest and these stimulating mountain days. I have dismissed the thought of work for the time being with no disloyalty to the work but that my service may be more efficient."

While he was in the United States after his consecration and on the voyage out, Brent thought constantly about the task that lay ahead. He knew that every missionary bishop had a twofold function: to be an administrator and pastor to his staff; to be also a chief witness to the Gospel and a pastor at large. He also knew that in the Philippines he would have to deal with two major groups, the foreigners and the Islanders. He wrote to the staff already in the Islands, setting forth the main lines of his policy: to regard the foreigners as his and his colleagues' primary responsibility; to support to the full every unselfish and intelligent effort of the authorities; to avoid conflict with Roman Catholics as far as possible, not proselytizing but striving to win back to organized Christianity those alienated from the papal obedience; to cooperate as far as possible with the Protestant communions but not to accept their proposed scheme for dividing the Islands among the different bodies; to adhere strictly to the law of the Episcopal Church and avoid any practices and teachings which,

though permissible, would divide the staff; to be ever on the alert for opportunities to evangelize new groups of non-Christians. In the main he held by these policies throughout his administration. In particular he always regarded the Americans and British as the first charge on his energies.

After the disappointing end of the negotiations with the Vatican, Brent sailed with Governor Taft for the Far East on July 24. They first saw the hills of Luzon late the evening of August 24. Thrilled and inspired by the sight, Brent wrote in his diary: "This is to be my home! A sense of pride seized me as I thought of the splendid trust committed to my care. How many brave fellows sailed these waters for their country's sake with their hearts full of courage and loyalty! And how many went yonder only to die! May God keep me loyal and empower me to do my stint of work, be the cost what it may." The next morning he landed in Manila and his attention was absorbed at once by details of finance and the acquisition of property.

THE MISSIONARY BISHOP

The Foreigners in the Islands

BRENT DIFFERED FROM MANY OF HIS MISSIONARY CONTEMPORARIES in at least three important respects. He did not feel the great urgency to affect individual conversions, expressed by a confession of faith or by baptism, that some Protestants and Romanists manifested. For one thing, he could not conceive that God would punish pagans for not having faith in Christ if they had had no adequate chance to learn of him, and for another he thought it an insult to a pagan to expect him to jettison the faith and customs of his fathers because of a sermon or address, the significance of which he probably did not understand. Careful nurture in Christian faith and living was his great concern. "The purpose of Christianity is to create and sustain an abiding, worthy purpose. Emotional religion can create but not sustain. What is needed is something that will fill life—intellectual, moral, spiritual." To accomplish this, schools and permanent mission chapels were needed rather than itinerant preachers.

Brent's attitude to other religions and their literature was friendly, whereas not a few missionaries regarded them as simply devilish. He thought that there was much good in them and that that good came from God. He often discussed with his co-workers whether the New Testament ought to be bound up for use on the mission field with the Old Testament or with selected passages from the great religious classics of the people to whom the Gospel was being presented. Though devoted to the Old Testament and sure that no one could attain a full understanding of Christianity without knowing something of its Hebrew origins, he thought that the approach to Oriental peoples could best be

made on the basis of what was highest in their own religion and culture.

Many missionaries in the early twentieth century regarded the American officials in the Islands with suspicion and had as little to do with them as possible. Brent felt a pastoral responsibility for them, enjoyed close friendship with some of them, counted on their support, and tried to bring Christian insights to bear on their governmental problems.

The text of Brent's first sermon in Manila was revealing: "I am among you as he that serveth." This represented his attitude to the English-speaking community that heard him that day. The British residents of the city accepted him at once, and a group of them were his chief support for some time. Because of the wise American policy of not keeping military or civilian personnel in the tropics for more than two- or three-year periods, the American population in Manila was largely transient in his first years there. Later on an important group engaged in business came as permanent residents, and to them he turned increasingly. At all times he felt a special responsibility for these foreigners.

The Bishop's first undertaking in Manila was to organize the English-speaking people who had been meeting for Prayer Book services. Plans for a cathedral had been in his mind on his trip out, and it was not long before the Cathedral of St. Mary and St. John became a natural center for worship. This was, in fact, a large parish. When he was in the city, men and women came to him as their pastor and crowded to his sermons on Sunday; in his absence various clergymen carried on the regular ministrations.

Brent was always anxious that the leading Americans show themselves actively Christian, and regretted that some of them were deterred from attending Church by their desire to appear impartial between Romanists and Protestants. With Governor Taft it was different. Meeting him after service one Sunday, Brent asked him why he had been absent so often. With a grim look Taft replied: "Do you really want to know why I don't go to your church? You haven't got a chair that will hold me." The

Bishop countered: "If I get a chair which will hold you, will you come?" "I most certainly will."

Immediately Brent had a special chair made of generous proportions and massive strength, and thereafter the Governor was regularly to be found worshipping in the cathedral.

Having learned in Boston to meet the needs of people not only by services of worship, evangelistic activities, and pastoral visiting, but also by building up various societies and institutions, Brent naturally turned his attention shortly after reaching Manila to those problems of Anglo-Saxons in the Orient which might best be met by organizations.

Before he had been in Manila three months he was urging a hospital for the foreigners, maintained partly by the Government and partly by the English-speaking colony, which should be the equal scientifically of similar institutions in the United States. The Government authorities and the Army doctors strongly endorsed the proposal. What was lacking was a vigorous public opinion. Brent exerted the full force of his energy and intelligence to cure this apathy, and, working with a few like-minded men, gradually swung the Anglo-American colony to assume the necessary responsibility.

Very soon, also, the Bishop felt concerned for the welfare of the young Americans in Government service in Manila. So he founded the Columbia Club. On the cathedral grounds bowling alleys, a swimming pool, and tennis courts were provided, for mental stamina and physical health in the tropics demanded regular exercise, and also club rooms and an auditorium which offered many opportunities for social gatherings.

With the cathedral as a center of the spiritual life of the American and English population in Manila, and the Columbia Club the social center, largely for the younger men, the next step was the consideration of family life in the Islands. As the American community grew, the problem of children began to bulk large. Many men coming out to the Philippines on civilian or military service were leaving their families at home in the United States to continue the education of their children, and to safeguard their

health against the risks of the tropics. Brent felt that it was bad to separate families in this way and a cause of serious moral disintegration. He wanted to have the American community stimulated by the presence of normal, happy homes. Therefore, as soon as he discovered Baguio he planned for schools there so that American children could be brought to the Islands without sacrificing their health or their education. It took nearly six years before this project could be realized. In 1909, Remsen Ogilby was persuaded to go out as the organizer and first headmaster of a boys' boarding school. It started in a small way but grew into an established institution, drawing pupils from all over the Far East, and until the Japanese invasion of the Philippines in 1942 it was a solution for one of the most difficult problems confronting foreigners in the Orient. After the boys' school was functioning properly, Brent began a girls' school, but it was in difficulties much of the time and was closed when he left the Islands.

The Hill Country of Luzon

The end of the year 1902, his first in the episcopate, found Brent somewhat weary after four months of intensive work in Manila organizing the cathedral congregation, buying properties and arranging financial matters. His diary for December 31, 1902, reads: "The last day of a year filled with responsibilities, anxieties and troubles — out of which the Lord has delivered me. There was no call for worry and yet I have worried." A long period of administrative detail generally left him depressed.

The next morning things looked different. "Celebrated Holy Communion at 7. The stretch of the New Year lies ahead. A beginning is a mountain top. One gets a fine prospect from it. I long to be a braver, nobler, purer man; but I have not been ready to put my life under the discipline of the Gospel. O God, turn my visions into facts, my longings into efforts, my fickleness into stability."

The first serious problem of the new year was the discovery that Talbot, one of his workers from St. Stephen's Church, Boston, who had come out to the Philippines as a missionary, was a

sick man and had to go home at once. It was hard to lose a willing worker so early, and doubly hard when that worker was a loyal friend. "One's plans are no sooner made than they are remade by a Superior Hand."

With the preliminary work in Manila accomplished, the Bishop felt free to undertake a trip into the north country. He was eager to see something of the Igorot of Luzon, as he felt his first real missionary work should be done among them.

At that early stage of the American occupation, traveling in northern Luzon was difficult. Brent was away from Manila for two months and a half, and had to use various forms of transportation: train, mule, wagon, horseback, pony back, raft, native canoe, launch, steamer, and was even carried in a chair or in a hammock over weary miles. Part of the distance he covered on foot, occasionally stripping and swimming streams to save detours. His itinerary took him by rail up the central valley of Luzon to Dagupan on Lingayen Gulf, just reversing the route followed by the Japanese Army when it invaded Luzon in 1942, and by the Americans under MacArthur in 1945. From Dagupan he went on horseback up the coast to San Fernando, and then up the Naguilian Trail to Baguio, back to San Fernando, north along the coast to Candon, by the old Spanish trail to Cervantes, thence to Sagada and Bontoc and across country to Tuguegarao on the Cagayan River. Going north down the river by boat through the tobacco country to Aparri, he went around the coast to Vigan by steamer. A short journey inland to Benguet brought him into touch with another tribal center, and then he returned to Vigan down the Abra River by raft. A small boat took him back to San Fernando, where he got a steamer for Manila. These names, unknown to almost all Americans for forty years after Brent first visited them, became familiar during the Japanese invasion. He was greatly helped on this trip by Army officers, especially Captains Normogle and Harteman, who struck him as examples of high courtesy and character such as he was proud to find representing the United States among primitive people.

Brent's account of this trip is one of the most interesting parts

of his diary. Much of the writing was done by campfires, smoky lamps in native huts, and during rest periods on mountain trails, and consequently is generally scrappy and at times almost illegible. But the power of the man, his sympathy for human suffering, his appreciation of beauty and humor and honest manhood, his delight in hard physical exertion, are very clear.

The natives differed more widely than he expected, and he chronicles the dissimilarities of physique and custom he found in various villages on the journey. Increasingly he thought of them as bearing to the Americans the same relation that the American Indian did to the first white settlers. He was thrilled at being among the first citizens of the United States to visit the mountain area and prayed that he might be wise and strong to save the Igorot and Ilokanos from injustice and exploitation. The prevalence of skin infections and other obvious signs of disease made him feel that a doctor-priest was the ideal missionary to the people of that area.

Brent was certain that missionaries ought to get away from Manila for part of the hot season if they were to remain healthy. From the start of the trip he kept his eyes open for some suitable site for a vacation resort, where small cottages could be built in pleasant country, and where vegetables could be grown. He found the place near Baguio, a town that shortly became the summer headquarters of the Governor, and bought six acres on the north slope of a valley, bounded by a pine grove and a small river, with an excellent garden.

The physical exertion of the trip reinvigorated him. "Had great fun this morning. The troopers gave me a riding lesson — bareback of course, mounting still and then at a trot, dismounting at various gates. I am ambitious to ride well and think I shall succeed." And again he writes with glee of a narrow escape when a pack mule made a false step on a narrow path, rolling 75 feet down a precipice, and his own horse just avoided the same fate. Frequently he swam streams, even when it was not necessary, partly to get clean and partly for the sheer fun of it. Occasionally he lamented, as when the first day's ride of nearly twenty miles

left him sore all over, and when he came to a section where the trails invariably went along the crest of the highest peaks. But he complimented the trail builders for making certain that no ambushing enemy could attack from above. He chortled when his companion, Father Clapp, had to be carried most of a day in a blanket fastened to two poles, frequently reminding the unfortunate man that he looked just like a pleasant but thoroughly incapacitated drunk.

In many villages Brent found Roman churches disused and in disrepair. In these places the head man usually asked him to baptize children or perform other rites. Whenever this happened, Brent was careful to explain that he was not a Roman Catholic, that he had no desire to lead the people away from the communion of their fathers, but that if they formally asked him to assume pastoral responsibility for them he would do so to the best of his ability. In a few towns he found Roman priests, upon whom he called and with whom he established friendly relations. But in the majority of places no Christian work had been done at all, and it was upon these that he determined to concentrate most of his efforts. "Would it not be wise to establish work among these people at once before anything else is done in Manila? Other people will look after the natives on the coast but these poor creatures will be left to the last."

As the Bishop moved north, he gradually came into contact with the vestiges of Spanish civilization. The valley of the Cagayan River was from early times the country into which the Spaniards introduced the cultivation of tobacco and some European fruits. In this area were the ruins of several monasteries and a number of schools still operated by Dominicans. He was taken on a deer hunt in a manner that reminded him of accounts of medieval hunts. He was convinced that though this section needed far more religious ministrations than were being provided, some were available and that therefore the demand upon his slender resources was less pressing than in the Igorot country. Furthermore, he became sure that there was very little use beginning work among the Filipinos in this area until provision

had been made for training a native ministry, and this was quite outside immediate possibilities.

Indicative of the Bishop's intellectual interests is the fact that he read Dante's "Purgatorio" and "Paradiso" on this trip and found that great author very stimulating. "Read a good deal of Dante's 'Purgatorio' last night. It is full of inspiration to one whose life is starved as mine is. The glad embracing of penalty is the height of penitence. I find myself only halfway there. I do not think I chafe under punishment but I do not clasp it in my arms."

This trip set the main lines of the most important missionary work among the natives that Brent initiated. But his early dreams could not be fulfilled. He saw in his mind's eye a string of mission stations running north from Baguio an easy day's journey apart, each with its dispensary, school, and circle of outstations. Baguio was to be the principal one — Baguio, one of the chief meeting places of the Orient, in the market place of which on a Sunday morning in the dry season more languages were spoken than in any area comparable in size since Babel — Spanish, English, Tagalog, Ilokano, twenty different Igorot dialects, Japanese, Chinese, Hindustani, German, French, Flemish, and occasionally Italian and Russian.

Aside from Baguio, Brent established permanent missions in two important centers in the Mountain Province, a very small part of his dream — one at Bontoc and the other at Sagada. His resources were so limited that he never was able to staff them adequately. The Agno River valley, with all its little Igorot towns, the whole province of Ifugao with its marvelous rice terraces, the Kalinga tribe with all its ramifications in the rich country to the north, had to remain without stations.

Bontoc, the capital of the Mountain Province, was obviously the place for a mission. The Bontoc Igorot, though head-hunters, had one well-established tribal custom upon which Brent thought a Christian missionary could capitalize: the town came first, the family second. The boys and girls were taken at an early age from their parents' huts to live in dormitories supervised by retired

warriors and the older women. Life was organized throughout for the welfare of the group.

The development of the mission at Bontoc was the work of Father Clapp. His life and his accomplishment is a story of the triumph of the spirit over physique and temperament. He was a large man, really too heavy for the little mountain ponies which were the chief method of transportation in northern Luzon, and his benign nature was much better suited for a peaceful rural parish in America than for the strain and stress of the frontier. He brought to the new mission at Bontoc, however, great pastoral insight and the mind of a trained linguistic student, as well as the absolute devotion of a consecrated soul. Living for a while in a mean hut with a few Igorot children, he built with his own hands a large part of the chapel and his own small house.

The first concrete problem of the foreign missionary is one of language. A man of less patience than Clapp might well have been daunted by the difficulty of reducing the Christian story into the compass of a primitive dialect with the total of only about five hundred words. But with painstaking care and the able assistance of Miss Waterman, a Wellesley graduate, one of the first missionaries, he reduced to writing the Bontok dialect. His vocabulary, compiled as a result of countless talks with his people, was published as a Government document. Occasionally difficulties appeared. The Igorot for "cat," *pusa*, sounded much like the word for "heart," *puso*. Accordingly, the first Igorot congregation who were gathered for the Communion service in their own tongue, were urged in the course of the liturgy to "lift up your cats." No immediate response followed. It relieved the situation, however, when the mistake was rectified, and Christianity was established without any element of animal worship or animal sacrifice.

The mission at Bontoc was built up around its schools. As the institution of the dormitory was a definite part of Igorot life, it was not hard to establish its counterpart on the mission compound. A group of boys, and later a group of girls, were easily gathered, and formed the nucleus of the first congregations. Clapp

called his station "The Mission of All Saints." He built on solid foundations, and his work endures.

The first fruit of this mission was a young boy, Pit-a-pat, who later adopted the name Hilary Clapp. Educated by the mission and then in the States, he became one of the Islands' outstanding physicians as well as Churchmen. During the war he worked secretly with the Philippine underground, but, mistaken for another man, he was shot by guerrillas shortly before the American Army recaptured the Islands.

The history of the Bontoc mission can be written in terms of the two classes of difficulties that confront missionary endeavor in pagan land. Under the first head come all the problems of pioneer life, of an uncouth, savage people, and of nature occasionally on the rampage. The other group is made up of all that is involved in ordinary human perversity.

This last is directly related to the first. Due to uncertainties of transportation in the early days, there were long periods of time when even the minor comforts of civilization were absent. Throughout Clapp's stay at Bontoc the only means of communication was a single hazardous trail, and mails often came no more than every two or three months. Delayed mails brought concern for the people back home and frayed nerves. The worst source of depression, and consequently of friction, was the rainy season. The records at Baguio show as much as 39.6 inches in a single day and 80 inches in a three-day storm. About once a year a typhoon gale of a hundred miles an hour carried away all but the stanchest buildings. When it wasn't raining it was hot; and though in the mountains the nights were cool, the tropic sun by day took its toll of vitality.

So, because missionaries were human beings, friction and antipathy sometimes occurred in spite of the inexorable chains and the common love of their Lord that bound them together. Conversely, those that could stand the strain of the constantly intimate life on the mission compounds became saints indeed. One such died recently in service, the Reverend Edward Allen Sibley, who came out to Bontoc in 1907 and served faithfully under

Clapp until the latter went back to the United States to die. For long periods of time he was the only priest at a station which should have been the task of two or three. Faithful in season and out of season, his work was the sort that endured.

One constant source of trouble at Bontoc was the friction between All Saints' Mission and the group of Belgian padres who went there shortly after Clapp began his work. Bontoc was not large enough for two mission stations. The rival church bells jangled discordant notes, and there were always some Igorot who, finding themselves irked with one mission, and perhaps disciplined for a just cause, would go to the other with garbled stories and cause trouble.

The other permanent station was at Sagada. Father Staunton, an engineer before his ordination, conceived the plan of founding a self-supporting organization, agricultural and industrial. With the help of friends in the States, and by his own indomitable exertion, he put up a sawmill, printing press, and other machinery. He built a church that was like a small medieval cathedral, and began a hospital on a great scale. But he failed to realize that it would take many a year to train the Igorot to run such machinery and to advance their agricultural methods from the most primitive to the most modern. An autocratic temperament made it hard for other missionaries to work with him, and Brent was frequently called in to mediate between the staff. Unable to realize his plans, at odds with his colleagues much of the time, and given to periods of depression, Staunton finally left the mission where he had worked so strenuously, if misguidedly, and eventually made his submission to Rome. The mission was continued by the heroic efforts of a succession of women missionaries, though on a much reduced scale. Not until after Brent had left the Islands was a priest secured to live there permanently.

In the opinion of those in a position to know, Brent's dealing with Staunton was the worst mistake in judgment he made in the Philippines. Though his shorthandedness made him take risks he would otherwise have shunned, some of his advisers warned against sending a man of Staunton's temperament to such a re-

mote station in the first place. Unable to keep close personal supervision over Sagada, they thought he should give Staunton detailed instructions as to the sort of work he should undertake, or, at any rate, caution him against his too elaborate plans as soon as they were made evident. Lastly, after Staunton had shown his inability to work harmoniously with other missionaries, he should either have been summarily transferred to some place where the Bishop could watch, counsel, and if necessary discipline him, or else sent home. Brent always hoped that, given another year's chance, Staunton would change, and his hopes governed his judgment more than the facts.

The Filipinos and Chinese

Brent's first outline of his policy¹ showed that he had no intention of trying to win from the Roman allegiance the Christian Filipinos in and around Manila, a policy at variance with that of most Protestants. A group of Protestant missionaries had formed a union in Manila for common action and for the elimination of reduplication and waste of resources. They early asked Brent to join them. He agreed to do so if representatives of all missionary groups were included. Being assured of this, he attended a meeting, and asked with a smile why there was no representative of the Roman Archbishop. He then stated quite definitely that while he might co-operate with the missionaries in various ways, he could not join any union that excluded the Church which had been in the Islands for some three hundred years. He took exactly the same attitude to Romanists and Methodists: a frank recognition of fundamental differences in theology and worship, and a readiness to co-operate in every enterprise for serving the needs of the people.

When Brent had studied the needs of the Filipinos in Manila and had secured some funds, he founded a church, a hospital, a settlement house, and an orphanage for them. Adhering firmly to his policy of not proselytizing Roman Catholics, he discouraged several groups who, being alienated from that communion, asked

¹ See page 45.

to be received into his jurisdiction. He was fearful lest they professed conversion to the Episcopal Church because of supposed material advantages to be derived therefrom. His refusal to try for converts from Romanism brought severe criticism from several of his fellow bishops in America; and in the opinion of some competent observers, including his immediate successor, he carried the policy so far as to fail the needs of quite a large number of Filipinos who could no longer abide Rome's autocratic domination.

Brent also was concerned for the Chinese in Manila. To lead his attempts to serve their needs he found one of the most faithful, devoted, and even-tempered missionaries he ever had, Hobart E. Studley. Having served as a missionary in China and been attracted to Manila because of the Chinese there, he was admirably suited for carrying out Brent's plans. He gathered a strong congregation to which the Bishop gave the name of his old Boston parish: St. Stephen's. This work became so effective that subsequently the Methodists turned over to Studley's care a mission they had begun among the Chinese of Manila.

More than once in his first years in the Islands, Brent wrote in his diary some such phrase as, "Began lessons in Tagalog." These starts, however, came to nothing, partly because the inexorable demands made upon his time compelled him to sidetrack these language lessons. In addition, he was not a linguist and never got beyond a crude fragmentary knowledge of any of the native dialects or learned to speak Spanish well.

Perhaps the most important single institutional gift Brent made to the Islanders was St. Luke's Hospital, Manila. This was always a small institution, and at times he kept it going only by desperate efforts. It began as a dispensary in 1903 and gradually grew into a well-developed hospital with an excellent nursing school. The Bishop insisted from the outset that it should be of the highest possible professional standing or close down. He would not let any of the institutions he founded be a subject for apology. Nurses trained there bore strong witness to Christianity by their skill and their interest in their patients. The two chief

difficulties he had to face in connection with it were the slackening of interest on the part of the well-to-do in Manila upon whom it had to depend primarily for financial support, and maintaining the medical staff.

Brent wanted to establish hospitals elsewhere in the Philippines. The one begun by Staunton at Sagada had to be given up, but the one at Zamboanga still existed and bore his name at the time of the Japanese invasion. It was a tiny affair, due to lack of funds. He also tried to get a hospital ship, equipped with nurses and a surgeon, to serve the people in the southern and outlying islands, but was never able to secure the money needed for it. How urgently Brent felt about such work is shown by a sentence in a letter to Bishop Hall: "We need medical missionaries before anything else." Hospitals served desperate human needs; they also showed people that the Christian religion realized the interdependence of a man's body and spirit. In addition, before hospitals under secular auspices would recognize the need for the Christian spirit within their walls, the value of such an atmosphere must be demonstrated in a hospital which was both scientifically first-class and also permeated through and through by Christian faith, hope, and love.

Next to hospitals in the Bishop's mind loomed up the problem of schools. In certain of his mission stations it seemed to him far more important to start a building for a school than to begin with a house of worship. His schools stand today as a permanent memorial to his vision. Easter School, founded in 1905 at Baguio by Dr. Samuel S. Drury, who later became the distinguished headmaster of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, was an excellent example of the kind the Bishop established in cooperation with Government institutions. His last project, the Willard Straight Agricultural School for Moros in the island of Jolo, offered the only method that has been devised anywhere to extend to Islam the best products of our civilization.

The Moros

The American flag has waved over racial problems and admixtures of various sorts. Nowhere, however, has the contrast with colonial Philadelphia or rural New England been more strongly marked than in the little corner of the world where our flag floated over something less than a million Mohammedan pirates in the Sulu Archipelago. The presence of these Moros within his jurisdiction gave Brent a thrill as well as a heartache. "The typical Moro," he wrote to Mrs. Markoe, "is a fanatic in his religion, a pirate by choice and a gentleman by instinct." The Philippine Islands, ethnologists agree, were visited by successive waves of immigration from the Malay Peninsula, beginning in prehistoric times. The last wave came after the conversion of the Malay Peninsula to Mohammedanism, and hence they introduced an entirely new element, not only in religion, but also in culture and custom.

It was generally admitted that all previous attempts to aid the Moros had been failures. The preaching of Christianity to them by a few daring Roman Catholic priests and monks, and later by Protestant missionaries, had made no impression whatever. Brent, knowing this, never felt inclined to establish ordinary evangelistic outposts in the Moro communities in the southern islands. As Zamboanga, the capital of the Moro province, came to be an important city of government as well as of commercial life, there was an increasing group of Americans there who needed Christian ministrations. Accordingly, he built a little chapel at the entrance of the Army post. After that, came the endeavor to set before the Moros Christianity in action by maintaining a little hospital in Zamboanga.

All the time, just below the horizon southwest from Zamboanga, was the blood-soaked little island of Jolo. Spaniards had maintained a garrison there, its strength varying with that of the Government in Manila. The few Spaniards, and the Americans who succeeded them, lived in a little walled town, its gates guarded by armed soldiers who looked with much interest, a

little concern, and absolutely no contempt at the Moros who strode in and out of the gates on lawful or unlawful business bent. Occasionally, in the little town, or at the gates, or just outside, would be raised a wild cry of "*juramentado*," as some fanatical Moslem, consecrated to the pious task of killing as many Christians as possible, raised to a pitch of murderous excitement by strange ceremonies and conferences with the priests, rushed out with his big knife, a wild and dangerous maniac.

What could be done? Occasionally the changes in civil and military administration would bring to Jolo officers of imagination as well as capacity and probity. Some of these were so successful in establishing friendly relations with the Moros that Brent gradually began to consider this outlying group as having a claim upon his attention.

Left between the pages of the little book used by the Bishop for his diary in 1914 was found on loose sheets a brief account of two days among the Moros that is worthy of record. Written at the top was the grim title, "In Peril Among Robbers." The *Peril* was the little boat that was given to him for use among the southern islands. The account tells the story of his endeavor to reconcile to the American rule a group of outlaws in the island of Jolo who were a menace, not only to the American Government, but also to their own people.

The account begins by explaining that the Bishop, accompanied by one or two friendly Moros as interpreters, and two American ladies who were visiting the Philippines — Mrs. Lorillard Spencer and Miss Buffum — set out in the *Peril* from Jolo, and met by appointment Governor Whitney in his ship the *New Orleans* off a lonely beach near the stronghold of the outlaws. Anchored just off the breakers, they waited there for some time in an attempt to get the Moros to come out for a conference. Messages passed to and from the shore, and finally it became clear that the outlaws would not come out so long as the Governor with his armed craft was in the offing. Accordingly, Brent persuaded the Governor, very much against his will, to return to Jolo, leaving him, Mrs. Spencer, and Miss Buffum to

get in touch with the outlaws. These conditions being met, the *Peril* cruised along the coast a little way until it passed inside the barrier reef out of the heavy swell, and lay at anchor in a lagoon to await the visitors. These last soon swarmed aboard until the entire vessel was crowded with Moros. Finally their leader, Salihudin, came aboard. "Salihudin is a remarkable looking person, tall, thin to the point of emaciation, with a nose that speaks of Arab blood. He carried no weapon. After greeting him I expressed satisfaction that he was unarmed. He replied in a graceful way and apologized for his followers wearing their barongs on the ground that it was the Moro custom.

"A barong is a fierce steel weapon with an edge like a razor, a heavy back, with a beautifully carved handle decorated in silver, gold or brass. The sheath, often elaborately carved, is put together so that if the warrior wishes to strike without drawing the blade the sheath falls apart in two pieces as the sharp blade cuts the thongs of rattan that holds them together."

The Bishop addressed the group, trying hard to persuade them to surrender their guns and to make peace with the Governor. He stated his willingness to take a group to the Governor under a safe conduct, and to arrange for the adjustment of all their minor problems without fear of punishment.

The conference lasted all day, with the leaders coming and going, and nothing was accomplished. Once or twice the situation became acute and even perilous.

"At this point Salihudin withdrew, and later when he left the boat did not even bid us goodbye as all the rest did. I argued with them that just as we had come unarmed among them so should they come unarmed to us. I promised them safe conduct to and fro, and hospitality under our own roof during their visit to Jolo. Hadji Usman offered his wife and daughter as hostages. But no argument availed. I heaped scorn on the idea of strong men carrying weapons, and, taking out my pocket knife, said that was my only weapon, Mrs. Spencer at the same time laughingly exhibiting a hat pin! They were very obviously uncomfortable, and Sariol, dandified villain, looked angry and fingered

his barong. During the discussion the lad who had come out with the leaders blandly suggested that we should be killed and the boat seized. Caddam, as I gathered, quoted religious principle against such a course! Truly there is honor among thieves! ”

Finally Brent gave up, and with a heavy heart ordered the anchor raised on the *Peril*, and sailed back to Jolo. He arrived late in the evening, just as the Governor was anxiously preparing to send out a relief party to rescue him. The Bishop grieved at the knowledge that most of the brave young outlaws who had accepted hospitality aboard his launch would, sooner or later, be slain, either in battle among themselves or in conflict with the American soldiers charged with the maintenance of law and order.

What contribution could he offer? What opportunity was there for him to bring into this tangled situation some regenerating influence? It finally became clear to him that hope for the future lay in the education of the young men of the higher ranks of the Moro population.

Support of this project, being in no sense evangelical, could not be secured from the Board of Missions in New York. That particular body, always under strain because of the difficulty of financing existing work, was unwilling to underwrite new ventures unless it could see some compelling vision, and it did not see the far-reaching, though indirect, value of a school for Moro boys with sufficient clarity to be willing to jeopardize other work in order to launch it. Accordingly, Brent undertook the responsibility personally, convinced that he could get from the United States necessary financial backing. This was so long in coming that he grew very discouraged. He wrote in his diary on June 6, 1914: “Woke very blue and depressed. How wrong this is. Gained a grip on myself and went to work. . . . Read and re-read 1st lesson for the day, 2 Chron. 20, to my great comfort. The second lesson was John 10. Could anyone have better comfort? It really makes no matter where a man is or what befalls him if he but leans heavily, with his full weight, on God.” It tried him

desperately to be face to face with definite human need, and yet be powerless to meet that need because of the lack of money. He took drastic measures. "Wrote George Pepper to raise \$4000 on my life insurance policies for the Moro work. I did not tell him the purpose."

It was fortunate for the development of this enterprise that at exactly the right moment there appeared upon the scene the person to crystallize into action the Bishop's ideals. Mrs. Lorillard Spencer, always loyal to the Church, took occasion on a trip to the Far East to familiarize herself with the missionary work in the Philippine Islands. She stayed long enough on her first visit to take a definite part in the activities of the House of the Holy Child, which has meant so much to the welfare of the children of American fathers and Filipino mothers. The situation in Jolo, however, gripped her imagination, and before long she undertook the furtherance of the cause of the Moro school as her chief interest. Her visits to Jolo became longer and longer in duration, until she settled down in a garden spot of her own making for the happiest days of her life. She was an incomparable power for good. She entertained Moros at tea with the same friendliness and dignity that had charmed visitors in New York and Newport. When anyone depreciated them she arose in their defense, maintaining that every Moro was a brave fighter and that every brave fighter was a gentleman at heart. She won their confidence and exerted a great influence over them.

The Bishop was fortunate in the man he chose to start the school. Even though he was not permanently satisfactory, Fugate had been successful as a local administrator of the American Government in the Moro province, and had acquired a perfect command of the Moro language, indispensable to the starting of this new enterprise. After careful consideration a site was selected at Indinans, a little settlement in the interior of Jolo where fertile land was available for agricultural experiment. With the cooperation of the Government assured, with the friendliness established by Mrs. Spencer's many contacts with the native chiefs,

and with Fugate's expert knowledge of Moro conditions, the beginning was auspicious. The few necessary buildings were constructed, and the school opened.

Never was there a stranger first night in any school dormitory. Fugate led the little group of boys into the dormitory, showed each one his cot, and explained to them that this was their new home. Each boy sat down upon his cot, drew his barong and placed it across his knees, ready for anything that might happen. The next morning when the headmaster came into the dormitory again, each boy was still sitting with his barong ready for any possible eventuality. They had been motionless thus all night long.

It was not difficult, however, to break down this feeling of apprehension, and arouse something of a school spirit. It was easy to cultivate the soil and to teach these lads to raise food for their own use, more attractive than anything they had ever eaten before. The way to a Moro's heart is also through his stomach. Classes were rudimentary at first, but gradually increased in effectiveness. The introduction of American sport gave the boys a new thrill. It was not long before they became intimately acquainted with bat and ball, as well as boxing gloves.

When Brent died in 1929, the school at Indinans had become one of the reliable civilizing influences in what had been a savage environment twenty years earlier. The teachers who took Fugate's place carried their pupils farther and farther into the mysteries of learning, and the influence of scientific agriculture and care of domestic animals spread all through the island. The school was named after Willard Straight, that gallant American who gave his ideals to two continents. Critics raised the question as to whether a missionary bishop should have given so much time and energy to a task the value of which could never be measured in terms of converts to the Christian faith. But a greater tribute to his vision could hardly be paid than by that little school at Indinans where Moro lads, under the American flag, learned to live together on Christian terms. Furthermore, it justified his faith that truth and virtue spread from centers where Christianity

is lived, for it helped to make cleaner living and Christian living possible where once no principles restrained fratricidal war.

After Brent returned to the United States, the school in Jolo remained more in his thoughts and prayers than anything else in the Philippines; and this is a great deal to say because he continued to be interested in everything that happened in the Islands. One entry in his diary in 1925 laments that he can do so little for so important a venture. "If only I had a few clear months—or even days—I might do something worthwhile for that school." And shortly before his death he said to the Reverend (now Bishop) Cameron Davis, "Davis, I want you to remember this. When I die, if anyone wants to make a memorial for me, tell him I want no memorial of brick and stone." He added that he preferred a liquid fund to advance the ideals to which he had given his life. It was supremely fitting, therefore, that after his death some of his friends began The Bishop Brent Memorial Fund and undertook the support of the Moro work as a sacred trust.¹

¹ The Moro Educational Foundation was founded by the Bishop to promote Christian good will among the Moros. Mrs. Nathaniel Bowditch Potter, one of the Bishop's oldest and most loyal friends, seconded by the persevering service of Curtis J. Mar, has kept the organization intact throughout the war. The school maintained by the Foundation is ready to resume its work either with private support (as heretofore) or, if taken over by the Philippine Government, as an educational agency of the latter. The Bishop Brent Memorial Fund, raised by a number of his friends, is now in process of final distribution. One half of the distributive balance is to be applied to promote the cause of Christian unity, the other half to the work among the Moros.

THE BISHOP AS A MISSIONARY

American Officials

BRENT WAS NOT CONTENT TO BE SIMPLY AN ADMINISTRATOR. HE CONSIDERED the principal tasks of a bishop to be a chief witness to the Gospel and a pastor at large. Regarding the Americans and Britishers as his first charges in the Islands, he thought one of his fundamental obligations was to help those in public office to live up to their high responsibilities. He did much pastoral work among them.

Shortly after he reached Manila, Governor Taft asked his counsel on whether or not to accept President Roosevelt's second offer of an appointment to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Governor had declined the first invitation on the ground that it was morally impossible for him to leave the Philippines because of the critical economic situation. Brent thought Taft was desperately needed in Manila and regarded him as a hero for refusing the position he desired more than any other in the world, but feared that he might go to the court under Mr. Roosevelt's insistence. So he wrote Taft a long memorandum, pointing out the Islands' needs for the Governor's particular qualities and knowledge, and urging him to shun the President's advice as a moral temptation. There is no way of determining how much weight this memorandum had in Taft's final decision to stay in the Philippines.

On the day after Ogilby's arrival in Manila in the autumn of 1909, the Bishop took him to call on the Governor General, William Cameron Forbes. As the two men went up the broad staircase to the *sala* where the Governor received them, Ogilby noted a great painting covering most of the wall. It represented an early Spanish Governor General, seated in corselet and plumed

helmet, deliberating and hesitating, while beside him stood a tonsured friar in a brown habit, leaning forward in his eagerness and hissing into the Governor General's ear what he should do in the emergency: a perfect symbol of the Spanish regime.

Mr. Forbes received them graciously. After some general conversation he turned to Brent:

"Bishop, you might be interested to know that I have just appointed X to that position we were talking about the other day."

"But, Governor," replied the Bishop, instantly alert, "you know the man is dishonest."

"Well, I realize that some people have said things about him . . ."

The Bishop was on his feet.

"That is not the question. I do not care what other people say about him. Do you or do you not know that the man is dishonest?"

"Well, Bishop . . ."

"If you do not know that the man is dishonest," went on the Bishop, by this time halfway across the floor toward the Governor, "I can readily place in your hands documentary evidence to that effect."

"Well, I have made the appointment," said the Governor.

"Then I hope to live to see the day," said the Bishop, now towering over the Governor's chair, with accusing episcopal finger outstretched, "when you will come to me to tell me that you regret that you made this appointment!"

The old painting flashed into Ogilby's mind — the friar, his finger also raised, bending over the mail-clad Governor, while in front of him were the other pair, clad in white linen, to be sure, but the gesture was the same! Yet how different the attitude of the two ecclesiastics to the native peoples: the one an advocate of keeping them in ignorance and subjection; the other, of educating them as rapidly as possible to self-government. At a later day Governor Forbes frankly acknowledged to the Bishop his error in making the appointment, told him he had removed X from

office and had appointed the Bishop to the vacant position with Ogilby as alternate in the Bishop's absence.

The friendship between Forbes and Brent was, like that between the Bishop and Governor Taft, a genuine and enduring one. Neither Governor was a member of the Church of which Brent was the official representative, yet both were very grateful for the spiritual contribution he made to their lives. His letters to Forbes show the kind of intimacy that developed over the years. After the Governor had resigned, the Bishop wrote him: "Well, you are free — free with the happy consciousness of having done an effective and honest piece of work for your country, free with the accumulated experience of your life in the Orient to use at home for the public weal, free to return to the bosom of your family for the rewards that lie there in rich profusion. But I hope you have only begun your public career. You have more to give than ever before, and a place and opportunity will not be wanting for long. A man of your power in these days cannot cease to be a worker and a public servant without ceasing at the same time to be a man. God be with you wherever you go and whatever you do."

Years after their paths had separated, Brent continued to feel the pastoral responsibility of a friend. "You have more religion and interest in religion," he wrote Mr. Forbes, "than perhaps you recognize because it does not take the outward shape which it does in the conventional world. Fellowship with the highest in character, wisdom and beauty is the soul of religion. Nothing short of it satisfies the human — not to say the Divine — in us. As one said truly long ago: 'The heart was made for Thee, O God, and it cannot find rest until it finds rest in Thee.' We have allowed ourselves to call attendance at church, recital of formulae, outward observance of religion, by the name of religion. Whereas religion is in all these things but they are not religion any more than the wood of the tree is the life that makes it a tree. . . . The basic root of religion is seeking to know and to do the Supreme Will of the Supreme Personality. . . . These are the days in which one shrinks from the unreal and craves

for final substance and reality. But being men we must find it in Personality, somewhere, somehow."

Brent was more attracted to the Army and Navy personnel than to any other Anglo-Saxons in the Philippines. Becoming convinced that few groups were more hospitable to Christianity, or more grateful for pastoral friendship, than they, he spent a great deal of time ministering to them, visiting the posts regularly for baptisms, confirmations, and celebrations of the Holy Communion, making many friends. He made a trip to Guam on a Navy collier in 1909 to visit the service people there, sailing through a seven-day gale and experiencing an earthquake as he began confirmation instruction to some officers. Among those who sought confirmation at his hands were Generals Wood, Pershing, and Brush. General Pershing wrote of him to the author: "Because of his devotion to the ideals and obligations of Christianity, his great abilities, his warm, human character, he was in my estimation an outstanding missionary, Christian and leader. It was always an inspiration to be associated with him." Three days before he died, Brent stopped over at Paris on his way from England to Geneva for the express purpose of seeing the General again. Their friendship was permanent.

Likewise Brent conceived a high regard and great sympathy for the American teachers in the schools established by the Government, and for most other American officials. Far from home and the restraints of home, often separated from any of their fellow countrymen, with the constant temptation to abuse their power and to throw aside moral standards, few people were in positions more likely to cause deterioration. Yet most of them rendered faithful service to their country and its wards. Of course he knew that many Americans in the Islands were anything but a credit to the United States—"Our work here is so impeded by the evil behavior and carelessness of many Americans in the Archipelago as to defeat much of the attempt of the unselfish ones," he told Ogilby—but he was so convinced of the justice of the Administration's aims and of the character of most of the soldiers, teachers, and officials, that the chief dangers

he feared were the fortune seekers in the Islands and the selfish business groups and politicians in America.

Beyond any doubt, Brent was the spiritual leader of the Americans and Britishers in the Islands throughout his stay there, though a few disliked and opposed him. One reason for this leadership was his adaptability. When confronted by unusual situations he acted, not according to ecclesiastical precedent, but as Christian charity and common sense together dictated. On one of his trips in 1909, for instance, he visited a mountain mission where there was no resident priest. In accordance with his invariable practice in such places the Bishop announced that on the following morning he would celebrate the Holy Communion, and invited all Christians to attend. The lady in charge of the school informed him shortly before the time set for the service that there were no Communion vessels. "Very well," said Brent, "bring me a cup and a plate." He was given a little glass egg cup and a china plate, chipped at the edges. He celebrated the Eucharist with these and preached a sermon, unforgettable to his congregation, on the consecration of the commonplace. It so happened that one of the worshipers was a visiting English merchant. He was so impressed by the reverence of the service, the power of Brent's extempore sermon and his ability to capitalize on a situation that might have flustered an ecclesiastical traditionalist, that he had the cup and plate mounted with silver edgings.

On Shipboard

The fact that his jurisdiction lay far beyond the sunset meant that a large part of his time was taken up with traveling at sea. There were many voyages between Manila and America, most of them made by way of the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic. To his fellow workers in the Philippine Islands, these constant journeys to the United States caused distress. They missed him badly. Most of these trips were forced upon him by the necessity of securing financial and personal support for his work. Some were made in the interests

of wider aspects of the missionary enterprise, such as combating the opium traffic, securing greater co-operation and unity among the Churches, attending meetings of the House of Bishops or General Convention.

Brent was always a missionary on board ship. The days of leisure on his long voyages gave him an opportunity to be of service to many a troubled mind. He had undisguised admiration for the skill and courage of mariners, and sought out opportunities to talk with officers and members of the crew. His friends at sea were many, and some of them owed to him their faith and their victory in inner conflicts.

It is obvious to those who knew the Bishop well that he never could have survived his years of stress and strain if it had not been for the rest and reinvigoration afforded by these long voyages. It was not that his days on board ship were spent in idleness. He usually read a great deal, selecting with care books of length and importance for which he had no time in the Philippines or in the United States. He also did much writing, as the prefaces of some of his volumes testify. But the relief from routine tasks and responsibilities, the new companions, the sea air, and the relaxation brought new life to his body and mind. On Sundays he generally celebrated the Holy Communion and very often was asked to preach at the later service.

Brent's days at sea usually fitted into a definite schedule. He would rise fairly early and after a good breakfast would take a turn or two on deck, and then go down to his cabin to read morning prayer, a religious duty about which he was punctilious. The rest of the morning was taken up either with writing letters or literary work, and reading the books he had brought on board for study. After lunch, he might continue his work, but usually read something in a lighter vein. He was always eager for hard physical exercise, and greeted with enthusiasm the opportunities for deck hockey on the Canadian Pacific liners. Many a young C.P. officer will long remember the Bishop's prowess in the hard-fought games of ship versus passengers. After dinner a chess game was always in order, though he was quite

ready to spend the entire evening in conversation with old or new friends. With him conversation was never a trivial passing of time. He had very little small talk. But without any obvious effort on his part, conversations generally turned to serious matters.

Naturally Brent was always interested in the fellow missionaries he met traveling, especially in the representatives of other communions. He was eager to understand them, and eager to express to them his realization that they were all comrades in the Kingdom of Christ. The urge of his soul for unity in matters religious was partially satisfied and greatly stimulated by talks with fellow missionaries on board ship.

On one occasion when Brent was returning from England to the United States, he traveled in the steerage. To his surprise this action was criticized as being a publicity stunt. There was nothing of the play actor about him, and his choice of the steerage on that particular voyage was simply an attempt to bridge over the distinctions that separated him from other classes and groups of people. He wanted to get the point of view of immigrants into the United States and felt he could do so best by traveling with them. He felt richly rewarded, and certainly many an obscure soul blessed him on that voyage. It was never his habit to court discomfort. It gave him no satisfaction of soul to think that he was traveling steerage, any more than he had any conscientious scruples about being comfortable in the ordinary accommodations of a good liner.

In the Philippines the Bishop made long trips by boat. It took him more time to get from his northernmost missionary station at Bontoc to his school for Moro boys in Jolo than it did to go from New York to Constantinople. There were long delays waiting for vessels that rarely traveled as scheduled, delays which seldom ruffled him, as he always could make good use of such unexpected time. Besides being slow, interisland travel had other drawbacks. There were cabins below, but as a traveler once remarked, they were like entymological museums without any pins. He used these cabins to store his luggage,

and for an occasional rapid visit to change clothes. Otherwise he lived, ate, and slept on deck—very often in pajamas all day long. Frequently fellow passengers laid before him their problems and sought his counsel. After accompanying him on one such trip, Ogilby referred to the vessel as “the Bishop’s rolling confessional booth.” Brent was a good sailor in storm and in sunshine, luxury or discomfort, partly because of his perfect command of sleep. At one time, wondering whether it was good economy for him to spend so much time waiting for the uncertain schedules of the interisland boats, he decided to buy a boat of his own. After using it a short while, he realized that its expense was not justified by the increased efficiency in the use of his time and gave it up.

On the Trail

Brent’s journeys on land in the Philippines were largely on foot or on horseback, or more often a combination of the two. In the early days such trips were attended by grave physical hardships and danger. Frequently he was stormbound for days at a time. The combination of a tropic sun and rugged mountain trails tried his endurance to the uttermost. Crossing streams in the rainy season made sudden demands upon courage and strength. The discomforts of leeches and mosquitoes and strange insects, together with the problem of boiling all drinking water, made certain trips thoroughly unpleasant. It was hard to walk with parched lips along a mountain trail with rippling brooks at every turn, and yet realize that health demanded that one should turn away from the joyous little streams chattering in the sunlight to the tepid water of an almost empty canteen. At night there might be the shelter of an Igorot’s hut, the cabin of some American settler, or perhaps a Government rest house beside the trail. Failing this, there was always good sleeping under the stars. Some lonely white men who entertained him had their own problems—perhaps a native wife and a group of dusky children. To such he would talk about the transfiguring power of human love, and very often brought the blessings of a Chris-

tian marriage into strange homes. The little children too were brought to him that he should bless them.

Brent spent a good deal of time in mission stations, partly because of the shortage of workers, partly because of his tremendous pastoral urge, partly to learn conditions. He valued very highly the opportunity thus offered of bringing to bear upon individuals the power of the Master's love.

There was, for example, Isaac. He used to come to church — an old man, thin, weak, and haggard, standing timidly outside the door. The Bishop found out one day that Isaac felt himself haunted by evil spirits who would come into his little hut at night and lead him forth to climb the mountains on either side of the Bontoc valley: first up one side and then down again and then up the other side and down again until he was nearly exhausted. Brent felt strongly inclined to fall back on the early Christian custom of exorcism, but upon careful consideration he took just as effective but more conventional methods. He prepared the old Igorot for baptism, baptized him, and then hung a little cross around his neck, teaching him a prayer to say when the evil spirits tried to get him out at night. He taught him that God is a God of love and Jesus Christ his Son would protect him from the evil spirits. The result was perfect. Old Isaac found it possible to sleep soundly all through the night with one hand firmly clasped around the cross on his breast. He would come to church strong and well, ready to pledge his entire devotion to his newly found Lord.

But there were sadder episodes. A father had permitted his eight-year-old daughter to attend the mission school, but after several months said that she must return home because he was tired of fetching water from the river for his family. The teacher was so indignant at his laziness that she refused to give the child up without the Bishop's approval. Accordingly, the next Sunday morning after service the matter was laid before him. Out of the church he came in his purple cassock, standing in judgment over the little girl before him, happy in her new surroundings but fearful as to the future, and the father, strong and determined,

demanding that she should be turned back to him. There was a long discussion in which Brent tried to dissuade the father. The little girl watched the progress of the argument with desperate eagerness as she saw the case was gradually going against her. The father had his rights which even the Bishop could not violate. Brent had to confess finally that there was nothing more for him to say, and the child returned from the school she had come to love to be her father's slave.

It was after such a period of pastoral work that Brent said to Ogilby: "Remsen, if ever you and I are in General Convention and the proceedings seem dull, as they often are, I shall propose the addition of a rubric in the marriage service in the Prayer Book which you are to support, as it always has been the custom that you and I have followed in the Philippine Islands. The proposed rubric is to read as follows: 'Whenever children are brought to be baptised at the same time that the parents come to be married, the marriage ceremony is to come first before the service of baptism.'"

With the Pen

One night in Manila, Brent finished the manuscript of a book. At the early celebration of the Holy Communion next morning he placed the manuscript on the altar as his offering to God. This illustrated the chief motive behind his writings: to serve God with his pen. He felt it to be as much his duty to witness to God by writing as by speaking. God had vouchsafed him certain insights and these ought to be proclaimed as widely as possible.

The period of his service as Bishop of the Philippine Islands was the period of his greatest literary productivity. Besides a great many articles in *The Spirit of Missions*, other Church journals, and various secular magazines, and in addition to his large amount of unsigned writing in the reports of the opium commissions and in pamphlets about Christian unity, and the constant stream of letters he sent people all over the earth, he published no less than fourteen books in these fifteen years. Sev-

eral of these were collections of addresses and papers. Two were sets of lectures: *Adventure for God*, the Paddock Lectures delivered at the General Theological Seminary in New York in 1904; and *Leadership*, the Noble Lectures at Harvard in 1907. *With God in Prayer*, *The Sixth Sense*, and *Presence* were studies in the practice and philosophy of prayer. *A Master Builder* was a long biography of Bishop Satterlee. *The Mount of Vision* was an attempt to interpret World War I, its sufferings and problems, by looking at life in terms of the whole as illuminated by the cross.

Brent's books were written during sea voyages and at odd moments he could snatch from his duties as bishop in Manila, while camping on the trails in Luzon or traveling by steamer around the Islands, on trains in America and during visits to relatives and friends. The reading and the sorting and mastering of materials for such books as the public lectures and biographies were done under similar difficulties. These conditions account for the rough spots in his books and the paragraphs that do not appear to have been assimilated into his argument in, for example, *The Mount of Vision*. He had insights he felt impelled to include, but he lacked the time to incorporate them smoothly into the rest of the discussion. The amazing thing is that the books were so good.

The magazine articles were stories of the work in the Islands, written to arouse interest and support, written with vigor, appealing to the spirit of romance, not hiding the difficulties and sufferings but suffusing them with a light of adventurous faith in God and concern for people, including frequent bits of beautiful description of scenery and historical events.

The letters were of every conceivable type: affectionate letters to his family; counsel to men bearing heavy responsibilities; advice to young men inquiring about how to choose a life work or how to meet temptations or how to hold the Christian faith and also maintain their intellectual integrity; discussions with fellow workers about the missionary enterprise or Church unity or doctrinal points; humorous notes to children in homes he had

visited; consolation to bereaved people — every vicissitude of life comes into his correspondence in addition to matters of diocesan administration and communications to the Board of Missions in New York.

As one goes through the letters, memorandums, articles, and books, and remembers that these were written during a very busy and exacting career, one is literally astounded at the amount of work Brent accomplished. Very few men have been such faithful stewards of time or possessed such powers of concentration. An intense inner discipline alone made it possible.

Calls to the United States

Brent's desire for his future is shown in a letter written in 1907 to his sister, Mrs. Haslam: "I cannot see far ahead and am indifferent to what may be my path provided I know it to be God-chosen and not of my own selection. The world has little to give except a sphere of service and I find enough to do on worthwhile things wherever I am. If I had my own choice I should choose intensive pastoral work for the balance of my career. The sort of thing I have been doing, dealing with problems in the large, of course has its high value and interest but there is no work like the care of souls and emancipation from responsibility for material possessions in which I have never been efficient."

Few things about Bishop Brent were more difficult to understand than the bases on which he made important decisions. At certain times — and particularly when he, while in the Philippine Islands, was elected to high positions in the Church at home — it was hard even for his closest friends to follow his mental processes and practically impossible to predict accurately what he would ultimately decide to do. And yet his formula was very simple: he always was striving to obey the voice of God and to subordinate his will to the divine purpose. To ascertain God's will seemed to him as difficult as it was important. It could be ascertained only by the hardest kind of praying and thinking: prayer which revealed the self-regarding motives that must be discounted and enabled him to approximate more closely to the

divine perspective; thought which weighed the factors involved in the decision, his own responsibilities and capacities, relative needs.

He was, however, singularly sensitive to anything that looked like a call from the Church. Yet he knew that any particular council of Churchmen might be animated by other than purely religious motives, and that a call from such a group might be a temptation of the devil rather than a summons from the Lord. He never defined for his friends how an invitation from an ecclesiastical body was to be tested or wherein lay its compelling power. But they knew that for a time he deeply resented the implication in the canons of the Church, which, while they forbade any bishop of a regular diocese from being transferred to another see, still allowed the election of a missionary bishop to a diocese at home. If it was important for dioceses at home to have bishops on permanent tenure, it was even more so for the missionary districts.

Twice while he was in the Islands he was elected Bishop of Washington and once Bishop of New Jersey. Undoubtedly he would have been elected to various other sees if his declination of these offices had not been interpreted as a conviction that he ought never to leave the Philippines.

The second time Brent was elected to the diocese of Washington, many of his friends were sure he would accept. His work in the Islands had not only made him a national figure but it had also brought out in him such an obvious interest in national affairs as to indicate that he would be happy and completely at home in the capital of his country. It required but little imagination to picture the enormous influence he would be in Washington as the friend and counselor of those in high places, as the spiritual leader of public servants. So his definite refusal the second time surprised many. He made an address to the Quill Club in Manila in answer to a request that he explain why he declined. Its felicity of phrase and its revelation of his mind call for extended quotation.

"If I should some day cease to be Bishop of the Philippine Is-

lands, it will not be because of extra persuasion from prominent personages or the glittering attraction of high office elsewhere, but because the body refuses to behave properly in the Tropics and threatens to leave in the lurch a willing soul that could only aspire without being able to achieve, like a caged bird beating its wings on the bars of its prison. Needless sacrifice is without merit; it is only splendid folly. . . .

"Again, as a missionary my first duty is, by abiding in the mission field, to defend the interests of the greatest, the most daring, the most slighted cause in the world—the cause that recognizes all nations of men to be of one blood, and that aims to bring them into a single fellowship in the family of Jesus Christ. The differences in Christianity here and elsewhere I choose to ignore. So impotent are they in the face of true discipleship, and so permeating and all powerful is the influence of a group of true followers of the Master, that Christian service never stops within the boundaries of the church where it is born but benefits all communions whether or not they are conscious of the source of their added efficiency. We can serve them, it is a happy thought, in theory and practice; we can secretly but effectively become leaders of those who repudiate our right of Christian leadership.

"As a citizen of the United States and a believer in the divine character of good government my interest in the political affairs of the Philippine Islands is unflagging. . . .

"It is because I wish to have a hand in aiding the political situation by adding the honesty of my manhood to the honesty of yours that I desire to stay here. Our responsibility is to put the Filipinos in the way of claiming as their own the very best in Government, science, education and religion, and not to mock them by feeding them with food that nauseates the palate of honest Americans, or by clothing them in the flimsy garments of appearance destitute of reality. . . . The best, the most thorough, the most enduring, is hardly good enough for either our or their need, so wonderful is the aspiration and the dignity of our human nature.

"Like all frontiersmen you and I are making history and

breathing the breath of freedom through our nostrils. . . . My field here is such as inspires and challenges all my manhood, and in electing to continue here as long as I can I am placing my life where it will count for most. Nor do I believe that any of you singleminded men would feel differently in like circumstances. Life is not as sordid and mean and mercenary as some make it out to be. Though I am conscious that my purpose is single and my motive clean, this consciousness does not separate me from you, my comrades; it unites us; it makes me feel worthy to stand and work among you. That is all. Your purpose and motive ring just as true as mine.

“It is a mistake to laud an ordinary act of duty too vociferously or to elevate into heroism the common deed of the common day. To do so disturbs the growth of virtue in the crowd and makes men suppose that response to the clear bugle note of duty is a counsel of perfection instead of that which is possible for and required of every one. The thing that has pleased me most during these days is that the majority of those who have expressed an opinion have expected me to stay here. In other words they have attributed to me that virtue of loyalty which Prof. Royce in his recent Lowell Lectures holds to be the pivotal point of all true thinking and living. . . .”

His election to the diocese of New Jersey came at the time when he was making strenuous efforts to establish a school for Moro boys on the island of Jolo. The Board of Missions did not see its way clear to provide the necessary funds. Some friends in New York had promised to help, but the money was not forthcoming. He wrote to the States that if his friends would enable him to launch the school, he would stay in the Islands, but that if they could not help him, or if the Board positively forbade his enterprise at Jolo, he would accept the election to New Jersey. Being assured of the finances by his friends, he declined the election.

There were various other propositions put to the Bishop when he was in the Islands, some of which never came to a head. He was nominated for professor of pastoral theology in the General

Theological Seminary, and later for the deanship of the same institution. Had he been elected to the latter post, it seems probable that he would have accepted. He considered very seriously an invitation to become provost of Trinity College in the University of Toronto, his alma mater, partly because his health was poor at that time and partly because it offered the opportunity for close contacts with young men which his soul craved. He finally declined because of the conviction that by staying in the Philippines he could make a stronger witness to young men for Christianity and for missions than by being their teacher.

The decision that closed Bishop Brent's service as Missionary Bishop of the Philippine Islands was his acceptance of the bishopric of Western New York. The news of his election came to him first by cable on October 6, 1917, as he was preparing to go to France. His doctors had made it quite clear to him that he could not expect to continue his active work in the Philippines. Two more years in the tropics would kill him. He had agreed to go to France. Whatever health and vigor he might have when the war was over could be used to best advantage in Western New York; for besides the opportunity to serve as a diocesan it was a more advantageous place from which to continue the efforts for Church unity which had come to bulk so large in his mind. Furthermore, it appeared as though the Philippines would soon become independent. He had always felt that his vocation was to the Islands as an American possession. He had written Bishop Hall in 1913: "If 'probationary' or any other independence is granted here my work is done. I agreed to come because the Philippines were American territory, and the moment they cease to be so my vocation here dies." If the Islands were soon to be free, it was wise that the man who, as Bishop, would guide the Church through the readjustments inevitable in a period of changing political status should be sent out at once in order to become thoroughly conversant with conditions.

Accordingly on November 20, 1917, he told the authorities at Buffalo that he might accept the election if it did not interfere with his going to France.

For the first time in his episcopal career Brent found his personal preference at one with the dictates of his mind and his conscience. There was an element of puritan asceticism in him that made him suspicious of any course to which his own inclinations drew him. The decision to go to Buffalo, once taken, brought him great happiness, and when he returned to his new diocese after the war his people received him with enthusiasm.

Leader of the Missionary Enterprise

It is extremely doubtful whether Brent ever realized his importance as a missionary leader. First consider his weaknesses which he felt so exaggeratedly. Reference has been made to difficulties among his missionaries. They existed; they were serious and hurt the work; he was, in part at least, responsible for them. But the great bulk of the men and women who served under him did splendidly and lived happily with their colleagues. The evidence shows that on the whole he led them well, and that this was due to his own influence as well as to the caliber of the men and women he recruited. His vision captured their imagination; his character and the quality of his spirit won their complete loyalty; his friendship and pastoral advice were of priceless value. Ogilby's unqualified admiration and love for him was shared by a good many others. They gave the best they had to further his plans. So though he made mistakes in choosing his workers and in dealing with them, his record in this respect was good on the whole.

It must be admitted that as the administrator of a missionary district, Brent was only fair. Administrative detail wore on him, and he did not handle it especially well. He wrote in his diary as late as 1923: "The burden of administrative work is less gall-ing perhaps than it used to be, but I am irked by it so that it is hard to do it well. Just because it is distasteful it is one's duty to do it up to the top-notch." Seers are rarely administrators. Great commanders in chief would not have been half so great had they not had chiefs of staff to reduce their far-reaching plans to detailed orders and to see that every detail of the plan was properly

executed. Brent was a man of vision; he needed a man of detail, and he had no such aide in the Philippines.

Many of the defects of his administration were due to his frequent, and sometimes long, absences from the Islands. Questions arose that called for quick decision; in the weeks or months before he returned, the questions turned into problems. Because he was away, there were often loose ends: a plan would be projected; a start made; but no one was on hand with the authority to push it through.

Yet Brent never left the Islands except for weighty causes. He had to be in the United States often to raise money and to recruit helpers; to present to the Church the cause of its missionary work which he could do more effectively than anyone else; to attend General Conventions; to forward the movement for Church unity. His country called on him to visit other Oriental lands to study the opium traffic, and later to serve with the A.E.F. He had to choose between these demands upon him and the constant supervision of the work in his district. Who shall say that the extension of the Kingdom of God on earth suffered because he gave himself to great causes at the expense of the administration of his district?

Consider the other side of the story. In the wider areas of missionary leadership, Brent was without superior. He was the most persuasive spokesman for missions in the Episcopal Church, and only a very few men in other Churches were his equal. He caught the imagination and stirred the conscience of great audiences by his addresses, and of individuals by his conversation. In his speeches, letters, and books people felt a commanding authority. There was a *thus-saith-the-Lord* weight in his words. He faced people with decisions they could not ignore—to volunteer for overseas service, to contribute to missionary work, to make the spread of the Kingdom of God their chief object in life; they were moved and inspired to respond affirmatively.

No man was more important in leading the Churches to understand the necessity of closer collaboration between their missionary boards and also between their workers in the field. Within

his own Church he was a leader in achieving a more satisfactory relationship between the authorities at home and the missionaries. In 1915 he drew up a memorandum which all the missionary bishops in the Orient signed, in which he outlined what he regarded as the proper division of authority between the home office and the men in charge of various districts. His major premise was that in missionary matters the men in America were amateurs, the missionaries professionals; and that the worst trait of amateurism was a feeling of omniscience. The bishops should determine policy as well as direct its execution; the Board of Missions should supply money and men, and educate their constituency. This memorandum resulted in a three-day conference between the signers and the Board just prior to the General Convention in 1916. As a result, both parties gained new understanding of the other's view; the bishops were given more freedom of action than they had had previously, and in turn agreed not to involve the Board in financial expenditure without previously getting its sanction.

Again, it was out of Brent's concern, first for co-operation and then for organic union, that the World Conference on Faith and Order was born. He had long felt what he wrote in 1915 in *The Inspiration of Responsibility*: "We missionaries have moments of deep depression when the consciousness sweeps over us that it is little short of absurd to try to bring into the Church of Christ the great nations of the Far East unless we can present an undivided front. For purely practical reasons we . . . feel the necessity of the Church's realization of unity. It must be either that, or failure in our vocation." He became the spokesman for the missionaries in unity matters.

Nor did anyone do more to relate missionary activities to social and political problems than he did through his attack on the opium traffic, and through his addresses and articles on the nature of the missionary enterprise. His fullest and most mature interpretation of it is that in his posthumously published book, *The Commonwealth; Its Foundations and Pillars*.

The Bishop at Play

Many people saw Brent only on official occasions, conducting a service, preaching, presiding over a meeting, or in a serious interview. But no picture of him would be complete unless it presented him in a merry mood. If there is a divinity that hedges a king, there is a high stone wall about a bishop. Fortunate are they who are admitted within the enclosure, into the hours of relaxation and recreation that reveal the soul.

Days crowded with toil for others often left him without time for exercise, and yet for him it was of enormous importance. If, as often happened, a series of afternoon committee meetings and engagements or peremptory demands from souls in distress filled up for several days on end all the time between luncheon and dinner, the fog would drift in, leaving him wandering and unhappy — perhaps wrapped for days in clouds of blackest gloom. Furthermore, almost all his associates stood in awe of him and his position. One day it dawned on Ogilby that the Bishop would welcome some other relationship, and accordingly he appointed himself "Custodian of the Bishop's Playtime and Master of His Lordship's Revels," responsible for seeing he got regular exercise and amusement. It is hard to overestimate the value of Ogilby's contribution, made through subtle schemes to entice the Bishop from his work, for one cause of the heaviness of soul which often oppressed him was purely physical: after a game and a bath he would come back with extraordinary resilience of spirit.

An extraordinarily attractive smile often illuminated the Bishop's face while preaching or conversing, a smile that bespoke friendliness and wit and enjoyment. And he loved to laugh, doing it well too, with infectious completeness of surrender that characterized him in many phases of life, flinging back his head and laughing with every fiber of his being, sometimes so convulsed that he sank into a chair with tears running down his cheeks. Most characteristic of him was his pleasure in the flavor of an old jest, the perennials which bloom again and again, the chronic quip which is often a seal of real affection. With those

few who were admitted to real intimacy with him he liked to be teased a bit, as many a lonely man does. And he often felt very lonely indeed.

Brent was a natural athlete. He had the co-ordination of hand and eye that made him excel in almost every sport. Though he wrote with his right hand, he played golf and tennis left-handed. He was a good tennis player, with a command of hard, vigorous strokes, and he kept up the game in the Philippines until it was clear to him that exercise somewhat less violent might be more beneficial. He was fond of golf and played it everywhere. He liked to tell about the day on the links of Caloocan, outside Manila, when a scream from his caddy made him look around just as he was about to make an approach shot. He saw a hooded cobra, coiled to strike — but the Bishop struck first, “and with an excellent mashie shot, I laid him dead to the hole.” He played polo for a short time after he first reached Manila, giving it up when he realized that he might cause serious injury to some other player.

At various times other sports and games occupied his leisure moments. He never lost entirely his delight in hockey matches on shipboard but eventually mountain climbing became simply a difficulty incident to reaching distant mountain stations and horses became simply a means of transportation. Even the most ardent lover of horseflesh could get very little thrill out of plodding over a rough trail day after day on a little native pony with nothing in the way of disposition and no distinctive characteristics except a tendency to get a sore back.

Football he liked to watch, greatly preferring Rugby to the American game. Baseball meant little to him, but as a good sport he was ready to play it when the occasion demanded his participation. In Easter week, 1910, he suddenly said to Ogilby, whom he was visiting at Baguio School: “Suppose we settle the matter of athletic games on Sunday at this school once and for all. I am going over to see Governor Forbes.”

Later in the day, as a result of that visit, Ogilby received a challenge from the Governor General for a baseball game to be played

on the next Sunday afternoon between the boys of Baguio School and a team made up by the Governor General. The challenge was accepted and the game played. Brent did not enjoy the game much, as the Government pitcher discovered early that he had the cricketer's eagerness for low balls and kept pitching him high ones. The occasion, however, was an evidence of his desire to encourage athletics on Sunday afternoons.

The sport which the Bishop most enjoyed was fishing. He had the delicate turn of the wrist that made him expert at casting flies. The surroundings, the quiet, the deftness and patience required to play a game fighter combined to give him complete satisfaction. His most prized present on his last Christmas was a book which bore Izaak Walton's signature on the flyleaf.

Chess — easily his favorite indoor game — he played well, but he was often beaten by inferior players who knew his weak points. He played a great deal at times — on a folding board in a hut in the Philippines, on shipboard, behind the lines in France. He never cared for bridge, but was willing to take part in it if he were needed to make the fourth in a rubber, provided nobody took the game seriously. If they did, Brent's only remedy was to overbid wildly, sometimes so surprising opponents that he won with weak hands, generally restoring perspective to players over intent on winning.

With the versatility that enabled him to take up any form of sport that presented itself, the Bishop at one stage of his life in Manila became an ardent devotee of bowling. He liked the game because of the nice co-ordination of hand and eye involved and because of the constant challenge to perfection set up before him. It also suited his schedule: often when the pressing engagements of the day crowded out the exercise he knew he ought to take, he found it possible to do some bowling in the evening on the alleys of the Columbia Club.

On one occasion when Ogilby was staying with him in Manila, the Bishop had been working for days under unusual pressure. He was looking so gaunt and worn during dinner that the latter remarked to him out of a clear sky,

"We are bowling at the Club tonight, you and I." He brightened at once, and when dinner was over, after some music from his Welte-Mignon piano, they strolled over to the Columbia Club, three or four blocks away. It was a warm evening, and after an hour's bowling they were both dripping wet. Ogilby suggested a plunge in the swimming pool.

"That sounds good," said the Bishop, "but I have never been in the pool here. Besides, I should hate to put on again these clammy, wet clothes."

"Why, Bishop," Ogilby replied, "you surprise me. Here you have given to the young men of Manila this glorious swimming pool, and you have never been in it yourself? As to the clothes, I can arrange that." So he went to the telephone and, calling up his house, directed a somewhat astonished houseboy to bring around to the Club two pairs of clean pajamas and two pairs of slippers. They had a swim in the pool, and after they came out, there was his houseboy with the clean pajamas.

"What's all this?" Brent asked. "Where are my clean clothes?"

"You see, Bishop, it's after half past ten, and there is no use getting dressed at this time of night. We'll just put on pajamas and go home to bed."

"But suppose someone sees us?"

"Scandal," was the only reply. So Brent chuckled and donned his pajamas for the walk home. Halfway there he grasped Ogilby's arm and whispered: "I see a policeman coming. What would happen if we were arrested?"

"Horrid thought. It would be just meat for the papers." So the Bishop of the Missionary District of the Philippine Islands and the headmaster of Baguio School cowered in their pajamas in the shadow of a friendly wall, Brent almost betraying them by giggling at the wrong moment, until the little native guardian of the law had passed by. Then they went on home to bed. And next morning a much refreshed Bishop plunged once more into his work.

AN AMERICAN STATESMAN

Opium in the Philippines

BISHOP BRENT ALWAYS HAD THE SPIRIT OF A CRUSADER. THE MORE deeply entrenched an evil might be and the more insignificant his contribution to the struggle might seem, the readier he was to arm and take the field for the right. And while waiting for the joining of the fray, he was eager to discuss the issue with all and sundry — partly perhaps as a relief for his pent-up feelings, and partly as an attempt to bring to bear upon the situation every possible bit of intelligence and criticism, from others as well as himself, to inform, guide, and control his actions.

In the South End of Boston prostitution had been established, hard drinking the common practice, poverty the accepted lot of most of his people. Again and again he had gone to the rescue of mangled fragments of humanity, and in the name of Christ had helped, had saved, and sometimes had failed. His attempts to help the victims or sinners had shown him increasingly the bearing of the larger social setting on the condition of the individual. It was inevitable that he would come to grips with the most personality-destroying factor in the Philippines — opium — and that he should see it as a problem of society's and not just of the individual victims.

It was a new problem in the Philippines. In the old days of Spanish rule a watertight Government monopoly kept the price of opium so high that its seductive joys were beyond the reach of the ordinary Filipino. Only the wealthy Chinese were regular users of the drug. Now, however, under American rule the situation had suddenly changed. The Spanish Government monopoly vanished with Spanish officials, and opium began to filter into the Islands. The Philippine Commission, at that time the legisla-

tive power in the Islands, took up the problem and brought in a bill to establish an opium monopoly, which passed its second reading on May 31, 1903. This seemed to be the easiest solution under the circumstances, and also it promised to bring in revenue. But the whole idea of a Government monopoly was repugnant to American minds, and the President of the United States was inundated with protests, especially from Manila. As a result he cabled his veto of the bill on June 14.

The situation was serious. The debauching of an entire people was quite within the realm of possibility. Governor Taft was worried. Brent shared his apprehensions. After he had organized the work for the English-speaking people of Manila and had completed his first tour of Luzon and the southern islands, he plunged into a study of the opium problem in its many ramifications.

On July 6, 1903, before word of the President's veto had been received, he submitted to the Honorable James F. Smith, Commissioner of Education, a detailed study of the proposed Opium Bill. He went straight to the heart of the subject.

"The question is first and foremost a moral one. The use of the drug otherwise than medicinally is a vice. . . .

"The opium traffic stands in the category of crime except so far as it is imported for purely medicinal purposes. It cannot be ranked with the liquor trade, for, as every temperate man acknowledges, in this latter there is a legitimate consumption as a beverage, however much the liberty may be abused, whereas there is no unvicious use of opium or its immediate products as a food-stuff or beverage. The consumption of opium is not merely a personal weakness; it is a social vice, i.e., a crime."

Brent urged the Commissioner not to fall in line with the discreditable legislation of the East, but to take the very highest ground and walk independently of the sad compromises that characterized the legislation of other nations. Above all, he thought that a Government monopoly that used the revenue from the traffic for the support of the school system would have disas-

trous moral effects. "We would be educating men in vice in order that we might educate their children intellectually."

Mr. Taft consulted him frequently. The Governor, deciding that this opium problem was so involved that he must have more information to guide him, obtained authority to appoint an Opium Committee to visit Japan, Formosa, China, Saïgon, Java, and Burma, to investigate the use of opium and the traffic therein, and to study the laws regulating such use and traffic. On July 31, 1903, he ordered Major Edward C. Carter, a surgeon in the United States Army, to head this Committee, and also informed Dr. José Albert, a distinguished Filipino, and Bishop Brent that their nominations to serve as members of the Committee had been confirmed.

This appointment is of deep significance to those who would understand Charles Henry Brent. It was the first of many official calls to the service of his adopted country; and it was the fourth of a series of events that combined to give the Bishop that passion for unity which dominated his later life.

The first event was the crisis in his early ministry that determined him to leave Buffalo — where he still was on the fringe of the land of his birth — for work in Boston and American citizenship. Then a few years later he definitely broke relations with the Cowley Fathers, relations which would have influenced his life and kept him within a fairly narrow field. Thirdly, came his election as Bishop of the Philippines, involving at once new attitudes to geography and to history. All these three combined to give him a constantly widening horizon: first he saw that his life was not to be limited by national boundaries, next he got a vision of the real catholicity of the Church, and lastly he was compelled to think in world-wide terms. Now came a new responsibility, outside the sphere of his ecclesiastical duties. It marked his introduction to statesmanship and began his passion for united international action.

It is not necessary to review in detail the journeyings of this Philippine Opium Committee from port to port in their con-

scientious study of their problem. Their report was an able document and was of great assistance to others who were trying to curb the evil. Brent naturally took his responsibilities very seriously. As he sailed out of Hong Kong harbor for Japan, where the investigations of the Committee were to begin, he wrote in his diary:

"The first duty of a man in undertaking a new task is to discern the broad aspects of the questions involved. He can do this best when he first becomes part of the problem, and before he has had time to study the details. Indeed details are useful only to the extent in which they have been related to the whole. First comes moral principle, then the application to a question in its entirety, finally the working out of detail."

It was the conviction of the Committee that no combination of revenue and restriction could successfully be made. Whenever they noted attempts to gain income for Government by opium monopolies or high taxation of traffic in opium, and at the same time to keep down the use of the drug, they found that such attempts ended in disastrous failure.

Between the time when the Bishop was appointed to the Opium Committee and his return to Manila in January, 1904, Mr. Taft had left the Philippines and was installed at Washington as Secretary of War. Brent missed him: their relations had been intimate and of pleasure and profit to both. He wrote to him in Washington on February 6, 1904:

"When I arrived in Manila about two weeks ago I felt your absence, as on other occasions when I have been away I have felt your presence. While I am glad to think of you as representing Philippine affairs in Washington, it is strange to think of Manila being without you. . . . We have just had brief accounts through the newspapers of your annual report. I do hope that many of the problems which, in my judgment, have been hindered in their solution by the action or inaction of Congress, will yield before the pressure that you will be able to exert in Washington.

"It is a significant thing that men who have been and who are

employed in the opium traffic, are among the most earnest in their denunciation of the whole business."

The First Opium Commission at Shanghai

To Brent belongs the credit of making the first move leading to international action on the opium problem. His studies as a member of the Philippine Committee convinced him that only by international agreement and action based thereon could anything be done to free individuals and the world from the ill effects of habit-forming drugs. To him the very core of the problem was that opium and cocaine broke down the will of the individual user, so that he had to have protection and help from outside to make and keep him free. Travel and investigation in the Far East had made it quite clear that no small or weak nation, and especially no Oriental people, could erect any barrier at its frontiers that would keep out opium. Small in bulk and readily reducible to various forms, drugs were easily smuggled into any country; and the trade was so highly lucrative that corruption of officials could readily be considered a charge upon profits.

So the moralist must become a diplomat; the ecclesiastic a statesman. On July 24, 1906, Brent wrote President Theodore Roosevelt urging him to take the lead in calling an international conference to consider the opium problem.

"My dear Mr. President:

"I am going to make bold to suggest that which I venture to think might be fruitful of great good if you can see your way clear to initiate the movement. It is this: recently as of course you are aware the question of England's share in the opium traffic has been re-opened in official circles in the Old Country.

"My experience on the Philippine Opium Investigating Committee leads me to believe that the problem is of sufficient merit to warrant an endeavor to secure international action. From the earliest days of our diplomatic relations with the East, the course of the United States of America has been so manifestly high in relation to the traffic in opium, that it seems to me almost our duty, now that we have the responsibility of actually handling the

matter in our own possessions, to promote some movement that would gather in its embrace representatives from all countries where the traffic in, and use of, opium is a matter of moment.

"Why could we not hope to have an investigation on the basis of science as well as of practical observation of actual conditions, in which England, France, Holland, China and Japan should take part with ourselves? The sole hope of the Chinese is in concerted action. As a side issue, but as a consideration that in my mind would enhance the value of the movement, it would tend to unify in some measure nations that are Oriental either by nature or through the possession of dependencies in the Orient. Nothing tends to promote peace more than a common aim.

"I shall not enlarge on the matter, as I feel that your mind will grasp the situation at once, and will see all that I have in my mind, as well as considerations that have not occurred to me.

"I would add that I have partially prepared a paper on Opium Legislation in the East in which it is my purpose to incorporate the substance of this letter. As I am trying to work on this subject with accuracy and care, it may be some months before it sees the light, but it is destined for an American periodical."

The imagination of Mr. Roosevelt was caught, and acting with the able assistance of the Secretary of State and Secretary Taft he issued in due time a call for the first International Opium Commission at Shanghai in 1909. Brent was appointed on the American delegation. One of his colleagues was Hamilton Wright. This began the Bishop's long association and friendship with Mrs. Wright. She was for years indefatigable in her studies and advocacy, and furnished Brent with much valuable material at later meetings. It may be questioned whether any private citizen in any country was better informed on the opium question as a whole.

What a decade in a man's life! Ten years before, this priest of the Church is paying calls in obscure homes in the tenements of the South End of Boston, greatly disturbed on hearing that Mr. Murphy is off on another spree and giving his blessing to Mrs. Holliday's fifth baby. Funds for the Sunday School Christmas

tree are a real problem. Now he arrives at Shanghai an international person, delegate of his adopted country, at a meeting of grave import to every civilized nation of the world, with its promise of release to millions of enslaved coolies—indeed, the ripples from the stone he has flung will in time be felt in the sordid dives of the South End of Boston where his name is still mentioned with reverence.

It was a busy session in Shanghai, from February 1 to 26, 1909, as the meager entries in Brent's diary indicate. When he was too busy to keep up with his diary, he was busy indeed. On his arrival he found that he was the unanimous choice for the president of the Commission, a responsibility from which he shrank. As usual in time of stress he fortified himself for the difficult days ahead by seeking strength from on high at the Lord's Table.

Then the sessions began, with all the ceremony of international diplomacy in Oriental surroundings, and Brent was elected president.

Six months after the Commission adjourned, Ogilby arrived in Shanghai and heard reports of the sessions. One British leader in the community assured him that the only factor that held the Commission together and prevented an unseemly row was the skill and idealism of the presiding officer.

Here is a paragraph from his opening address which shows well the lucid quality of his thought and his disarming frankness.

"The question that brings us together—the opium question—is an extremely difficult one and I think the very first thing that all of us should do is frankly to recognize the problem and openly admit it. It is a great problem and we can hope to reach a successful solution of it only by facing facts and facing them squarely. We must have courage, and it seems to me that two principal features of courage are sincerity and thoroughness. All great problems go through two distinct stages. The first stage is what might be termed the emotional stage; it is based largely upon sentiment and ideals that are conceived in the inner self, sometimes more independent of facts than is warranted. In the problem before us, for a long period we have been passing

through this preliminary stage — what I have termed the emotional stage. The emotional stage finds expression in agitation. Now I believe we are at least midway in the second stage, when men deal with ascertained fact, and on the basis of ascertained fact reach certain conclusions of a practical character that will enable those upon whom the responsibility rests to arrive at some final conclusion.”¹

Perhaps it would be safe to say that the great achievement of the Shanghai Commission was the bare fact that representatives of the nations of the world met to discuss the opium problem frankly and fully, and then returned to their own respective countries to crystallize their ideals into effective action.

It was not deemed prudent to make the scope of the Shanghai meetings the whole field of the use and abuse of habit-forming drugs. This was still 1909, and the idea of international conferences was not so familiar then as it became later. The immediate purpose of the gathering was, rather, to reinforce the Chinese leaders who were trying to reduce and ultimately to eliminate the growth of the poppy in China and the use of opium, though it was hoped by some that Great Britain would agree to progressive reduction in the export of opium from India to China.

The delegates of the other countries looked instinctively to the representatives of America for leadership, and the final resolutions were practically an American program enriched and modified by the wisdom and experience of the representatives from other nations.

It was while the Commission was in session that a statute was passed in Washington (on February 9, 1909) making it a penal offense to import opium into the United States except for medicinal purposes. This strengthened the hands of the American delegation in their endeavor to get joint action between China and Great Britain leading to the reduction of acreage devoted to the cultivation of the poppy in China, coupled with reduction of the importation from India. This was the focus of Brent's atten-

¹ Quoted by Hamilton Wright, *American Journal of International Law*, 1909, p. 852.

tion, and the readiness of the British authorities later to proceed in this direction, moving forward step by step in China, gave him profound satisfaction.

But the surging life of a newly awakened China upset a dynasty, and she was unable to carry out her part of the agreement to restrict the cultivation of the poppy. This put the question on a new basis, and a further conference with wider agenda was necessary.

The Hague Conference

Another international conference on the opium problem was convened at The Hague in December, 1911. Again Brent headed the American delegation, this time by appointment from President Taft. The gathering was more widely representative than the one at Shanghai, and the delegates came with a much clearer conception of the problems involved and more definite instructions from their own Governments.

Brent was nominated for president of the Conference by the chief delegate from the Netherlands, and seconded by the chief delegates from Great Britain and Germany. Certainly this young American ecclesiastic had gone far in winning respect as an international person when his fitness as a presiding officer could be recited at The Hague first in French, then in English, and finally in German. Some idea of the success of his efforts to win adherence to his ideals may be had from their wholehearted acceptance by the British delegates in their report to their Government.

"To sum up, the Shanghai Commission directed itself mainly to the subject of the opium traffic in the Far East, and was primarily concerned with rendering assistance to the opium suppression movement which the Chinese Government had lately initiated. The present convention goes far beyond this. It has dealt with morphine, cocaine, etc., as well as with opium; and in prescribing measures for confining the use of the two first-mentioned drugs, and the others referred to in chapter III, to legitimate medical purposes, for placing the production and dis-

tribution of raw opium under rigid control, and for restricting, with a view to eventual extinction, the trade in prepared opium, it has, for the first time, laid down as a principle of international morality that the various countries concerned cannot stand alone in these measures. It is not sufficient for a particular state to take adequate measures for the protection of its own subjects; it is also essential that it should assist the efforts of other countries by preventing undesirable exportation of drugs into their borders. As matters now stand, even if the difficulties to which we shall presently allude should impair or delay the full fruition of the labours of the conference, the fact will remain that it has marked an important step in international ethics, and has brought the matters which have been under discussion to such a position that international public opinion must eventually bring about, in one shape or another, the full results aimed at. No Power which has participated in the conference, for example, can hereafter maintain that its obligations cease with adequate protection of its own subjects from noxious drugs; it is also pledged to help its neighbors as far as may be practicable towards the same end."

It would seem from these words of the British delegates as if the battle were won. The powers assembled were pledged to international action: nothing remained to be done but to establish the necessary machinery for putting into effect the principles accepted. In the light of subsequent events, however, there was one ominous phrase in the last sentence of this report from the British delegates; each signatory power was pledged to help its neighbors "as far as may be practicable." Such a phrase sounded innocent enough, but in years to come such caveats were to bulk so large that they shut out the sunlight of the noble sentiments by which they were surrounded.

The cataclysm of 1914 naturally caused a suspension of many projects for the commonweal of nations. International action on any scale sufficient to curb the spread of the opium curse was impossible. The chief crusader's time was fully taken up with more pressing problems. But after the war it became obvious to the group who were fighting opium that in the League of Na-

tions there was a new agency for international action, and at the same time it was forced upon the attention of thinking people in America that an increase in the number of drug addicts in their country was part of the aftermath of war. Something must be done.

The Preliminary Geneva Meeting

In the summer of 1923 arrangements were made for an American delegation to attend a meeting at Geneva to arrange for opium conferences under the auspices of the League. Brent was at this time working hard in the administration of his diocese of Western New York, and did not greet the prospect of entering into the struggle once more with any enthusiasm.

"That damned opium mess has started up again. A message from Porter indicates that we are expected to go to the Assembly of the League, sailing a week from tomorrow. Porter can do without me. Have wired him so. I have other things to do besides trot to and fro across the Atlantic for the Government when others can do the job as well as or better than I."

The next day a telegram from the Secretary of State conveyed what was practically an order from the President. As a loyal citizen Brent felt obliged to comply.

A few days later, feeling far from well and distressed by the accumulation of the problems of his diocese, he entered in his diary a pathetic hope that he might not have to go to Geneva after all. But no relief appeared, and as usual the ocean voyage brought improved health.

This gathering in Geneva was simply a planning session. The situation was canvassed and arrangements made for two meetings in the fall of 1924. The first was to be composed of delegates from the eight nations within the borders of which opium smoking was temporarily allowed under the documents drawn up at The Hague in 1912. Agreement between this smaller group seemed necessary before convening in the second conference the delegates from the forty nations who were to deal with the problem in the large.

The American representatives opposed to the last the idea of two conferences, but were outvoted. Brent foresaw the difficulties that would beset the first one, especially as he strongly disapproved of the personnel of the Indian delegation. The problem of the Indian Government's revenue from opium was still the major obstacle to any effective action. Though he keenly enjoyed old and new friends at Geneva, and was proud of the position of the American delegates, he left somewhat depressed by the problems of the future.

During the year that followed the various organizations interested kept up the work in preparation for the two Geneva meetings. One thorough study by an able group of six representative communities in America made available to the American delegation some exact figures as to what amount of opium might conceivably be needed in the United States for purely medical purposes. In April, 1924, again weary and far from well, Brent tried to escape the responsibility of returning to Geneva in the fall.

"Wrote the President that it was very doubtful whether I could go to Geneva again. Also took occasion to thank him for his message. Wrote Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations, in same terms as the President."

On November 1, however, he again took ship for Europe by way of England.

The Bishop's Final Answer

Weary and worn though he was, the fire of the crusade flashed in Brent's eyes as he surveyed the scene at Geneva in that month of November, 1924. All the old entrenched evils that he had been fighting for over twenty years were again set in array. The devil was still chuckling over the revenues the Indian Government derived from the narcotics trade, and Brent was still wounded at the thought that a part of the British Empire blocked the path of progress.

So the crusader once more drew his sword. After a month of private conversations and public meetings, some of them quite acrimonious, it was evident that effective control of opium pro-

duction would be secured. Brent spoke for the American delegation at a plenary session.

"To us it seems as though we are at the parting of the ways. The question is: Shall we try to make a compact with an evil, or shall we declare a war of extermination upon it in terms that admit of no compromise? There is an increasing caution among physicians in their use of habit-forming drugs. An alliance with the enemy would be as an alliance between a lamb and a tiger or a cobra and its victim. Were our gallery in this room composed of addicts of every country forcibly separated from their drug, I do not hesitate to say that the character of the document we would sign would be far more drastic than anything contained in the American suggestions. I repeat we cannot compromise with a curse."

Then, in solemn tones of moving sincerity, he concluded:

"The jury in this case is the world of thinking men and women whose interests we are serving. Those of us whose purpose is set and who believe that we are in the right will not be daunted by obstructions. With William Lloyd Garrison we say, in the words of his great liberation challenge to the bureaucrats and vested interests of his day: 'I will not retract. I will not retreat an inch. I will not equivocate. I will not be silent but I will be heard.'"

With the consent of his fellow Americans, Brent went from Geneva to Paris and London in an effort to persuade the French and British Governments to instruct their delegates to refrain from signing a document upon which unanimous agreement was sought. His views on the document were summarized in an analysis of it which he gave to the press just before leaving Geneva. It is doubtful if any responsible representative of a great power had ever analyzed a proposed international agreement with such irony, scorn, and moral indignation. I quote but two paragraphs:

"When I deal with Article VII, I fear that my language will laugh at it even though I succeed in keeping my lips free from a smile. It starts out well—'The Contracting Powers shall use

their utmost efforts by suitable instruction in the schools, dissemination of literature and otherwise, to discourage the use of prepared opium within their respective territories.' So far so good. We did this early in our anti-opium activities in the Philippines. But why, oh why, does not the Article stop here? It would take a sophist or even a Mephistopheles to explain why so simple and honest a plan should have been marred and defeated by having tacked to it the words 'except when a Government considers such measures undesirable under the conditions existing in its territory.' The Article begins with 'utmost efforts' and closes by as fine a piece of hedging as any gambler ever employed at a horse race. It is trifling with principles and playing with language in a solemn covenant. This one thing is sure,—if it were the children of our own body and homes who were concerned, we would not tolerate it. Why then should we tolerate it for the children of the Orient?

"Article IX is a gem. 'The Contracting Powers will examine in the most favorable spirit the possibility of taking legislative measures to render punishable illegitimate transactions which are carried out in another country by a person residing within their territories.' What less can you possibly do than 'examine in the most favorable spirit the possibility of taking legislative measures to render punishable illegitimate transactions which are carried out in another country by a person residing within their territories'? There is no call for examining definite measures, but for examining 'the possibility' of such measures! Its extreme caution suggests that of the young clerk who failed to come to the office because he was 'threatened with the symptoms of malaria.'"

The American delegation left the Conference in protest against this document. Brent thought that the agreements signed by other countries represented a backward step. Was, then, the crusader actually defeated in this, the last combat in which he took any official part? There were many discerning minds throughout the British Empire who felt keenly the truth in the lash of the Bishop's words. The *British Weekly* after analyzing the problem and

stating that no solution had been reached because the Indian delegation had steadily fought to prevent discussion of the reduction of poppy-growing, ended by expressing profound humiliation that the failure of the Conference to achieve any results was due to a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In this attitude lay the chief hope of future accomplishments.

Two weeks before his death the crusader addressed to the President of the United States a last memorandum on the opium situation. He wrote from London, the capital city of the British Empire, where he had so often looked in vain for the leadership that could make his crusade a success. Again he reiterated his central conviction: "Restrict manufacture as you may, so long as the raw product is available our country as well as other countries will be flooded with contraband heroin and morphia." With these words the crusader sheathed his sword and bequeathed to others the warfare he had waged so stoutly.

A BISHOP IN KHAKI

The Period of American Neutrality

AUGUST, 1914, FOUND BRENT AND OGILBY AT BONTOC, IN TEMPORARY charge of the mission during part of Sibley's absence on furlough. It was more than eleven years since the Bishop had first visited it and planned for a chain of mission stations through the north country. So little of that dream had ever been realized that the retrospect of the years filled him with gloom. He wrote in his diary: "Twelve years ago I landed in Manila. It seems wonderful that God should have so shaped and guided my life as still to hold me in the sunshine of hope and aspiration. The way is strewn with unused and half used opportunities. May the balance of the road be measured with firm and steady step."

The first news of the European war reached them on the ninth. Immediately, Brent wired the editor of a Manila paper to send him a daily telegram of war news. News sent from Europe to the United States was relayed in code to Reuter's News Agency in Shanghai, and then cabled in condensed form to Manila. Their daily telegram, compiled from Reuter's message, was sent by a Filipino operator from Manila, received by an Ilokano at Tagudin, and telephoned to an Igorot at Bontoc. It is not difficult to imagine what happened to Belgian proper names in the process. A group of Belgian priests staffed a Roman mission near by, and naturally they were desperately anxious for news from their homeland. Every day Ogilby took the telegram to them, and they would sit down over a map to interpret it. As they realized how the wave of destruction was engulfing one by one the towns in which they had lived or studied, they became nearly frantic. The Bishop's diary shows how he sympathized with them, and how

the war weighed on his conscience and heart. It reveals that the year 1914 was the most depressed of his life.

One morning the war was brought home to him poignantly. He was talking with the old men of a neighboring village about God, when one of them, an unusually intelligent Igorot named Kaia, said:

"We thank the white man for coming here to teach us many good customs. We Igorot used to try to kill each other, but the white men have showed us that this is a bad custom. It is not good for men to try to kill other men. . . ."

Brent, thinking of Europe, hung his head in silence.

There is little comment on the war in his diary for several months. But an entry on January 31, 1915, shows the center of his interest.

"What is the motive of our neutrality? That is the crucial question. If it is of a selfish sort the fact of our being at peace will not be of service to the nations. So far as I can see we are neutral because we hate the inconvenience rather than the wickedness of war. It may be that our very benefactions are prompted by sentimental pity rather than by fellow feeling."

During 1915 and the first few months of 1916, Brent was fully immersed in his diocesan work. In his spare moments he completed a biography of Bishop Satterlee, entitled *A Master Builder*. It is not a great biography, but a competent, though at times pedestrian, work. In view of the fact that it was composed on his travels and in odd moments between engagements, the wonder is that it is as good as it is—a good portrait, with subtle study of motives and—hardest achievement of all for a biographer—an admirable balance between the appreciative and the critical.

In September, 1915, his heart troubled him, and his physician ordered him to America and cold weather as soon as possible. Several times thereafter he was incapacitated for brief periods by heart attacks, once being forced to stop in the middle of a Communion service. He sailed for the States at the end of March,

with no plans except to rest and to attend the General Convention of the Episcopal Church at St. Louis in October.

It was a bad voyage. His ship, the *Chiyo Maru*, was wrecked thirty miles outside of Hong Kong at four thirty in the morning. After drifting around in a lifeboat for several hours, he was picked up by a British destroyer, taken to Hong Kong, and continued his voyage in another vessel. His comment on the accident in his diary was, "It is wonderful how quietly people can face the prospect of death." At Shanghai his wrath was aroused by a consular official who tried to dictate to him what to say in an address he was asked to give at the Tiffin Club. At Nagasaki the entire passenger list was subjected to a minute and wearying examination because a Japanese health officer diagnosed a case of chicken pox on board as small pox. Entering Kobe harbor, the ship ran aground. At Yokohama he received word of the death of his only surviving brother. As the trip went on, the problems of the mission field receded and those of the war, and America's relation to it, bulked steadily larger.

In the United States and Canada, 1916

On his arrival in the United States, his family was his first claim. He went to his sisters in Denver, and then at the earliest opportunity made the trip to Mahone Bay, Canada, to attend to his brother's affairs. Dr. Brent had been a competent and faithful physician, desperately overworked by influenza among his rural patients in the winter of 1916. He contracted the disease himself, but continued his work in sublime disregard of his own health. His death left Mrs. Brent and three children as a responsibility to the Bishop. It took him some time to settle the estate and to make plans for the family.

While in Canada, Brent paid visits to his old home, Newcastle, to his school at Port Hope, and to the University of Toronto. He saw wounded and gassed Canadian soldiers back from the front, and his heart was wrung by the constant evidence of mourning for those who were never to return. He was greatly aroused by reports he received about the extent of prostitution

in France and Belgium, with its consequences for the morals and health of the troops, and was even more perturbed by confidential information which seemed to reveal a lack of concern on the part of the British Government.

After spending June and most of July in a speaking trip on behalf of the missionary cause in general and of the work among the Moros in particular, ending up with a series of lectures to a conference of Church workers in Cambridge, Brent went to Maine to rest with his devoted friends, the George Wharton Peppers. Though very tired, he kept in constant touch with his old comrade of the Philippines, General Leonard Wood, who was trying to prepare the nation for the entrance into the war that drew closer every day by giving military training at Plattsburg, N.Y., to the young men who would have to be officers when the Army was expanded. In August, Brent went with Pepper to Plattsburg for three weeks at the General's invitation, holding various types of services, speaking at gatherings large and small, meeting with individuals, studying the role of clergymen in the Army. The reorganization of the Chaplains' Corps, for which he is primarily responsible, began to occupy his mind in these days.

In October, from the eleventh to the twenty-seventh, Brent was in St. Louis for the session of the General Convention. An observer at this Convention was the American novelist, Winston Churchill, who was so impressed by the Bishop that he sought an opportunity to meet Brent and spent three hours discussing with him the religious questions of the day. After the Convention ended he went on the road again, the most extensive trip being west to California in November for a series of lectures and a number of sermons. A family Christmas at Derry, N.H., with his sister, Mrs. Haslam, and her family meant much to a weary man. He notes in his diary: "Celebrated at early service. Our family together — those absent and those present." This last sentence is very revealing of his mind. In the Lord's Supper he felt united in prayer with his indubitably present Lord, his fellow worshipers, and all those beyond the grave who were followers of Christ; for when one was with Him one was also linked to

them. He prayed for all — his relatives beside him, his father and mother, and the brother he had so recently lost; and he was convinced that they also were communing with the same Lord.

That autumn was one of the most trying periods he ever spent in the United States. In addition to the strain of ceaseless travel and speaking after the sessions of General Convention and the constant desire to help his brother's family, he became desperately anxious for his adopted country. Though he longed for peace more than for anything except righteousness, he feared that America was trying to conserve business profits and to avoid inconvenience, and by so doing was endangering its soul. He wanted to help to get it into the struggle being waged for the elementary principles of justice and freedom for which the Revolution had been fought.

His attitude to President Wilson changed. At first he had held him in high regard. "He impressed me as being a great man, desirous of being a great servant," he had noted in his diary on November 10, 1913, after an interview in which they had discussed American policy toward the Philippines. In January, 1915, he had written Malcolm E. (now Bishop) Peabody: "I have great admiration for President Wilson in many ways. I think that he is a man of God, and that he measures his policies with a moral yard-stick." He became doubtful of the Chief Executive when his speeches and actions seemed to indicate a changed Philippine policy, based on academic theory rather than on a knowledge of the facts, and when his insistence on American neutrality appeared to betoken blindness to the moral principles at issue. In December, 1915, he wrote to Bishop Hall: "Frankly I have less and less confidence in Wilson. . . . I fear he is an opportunist, that is, a man without foresight but with a gift of rhetoric that enables him to deal cleverly with events as they happen. I have seen it argued that his critics, considering his actions in the light of subsequent experience, expect of him a prophetic gift. They do so rightly. A leader to be a leader must be a seer. The statesmen of old were primarily prophets." Brent's opposition to the President became strong in 1916 after he was

subjected to the views of the extreme opponents of Mr. Wilson among his friends, especially at Plattsburg. The handling of the railroad strike that summer struck him as pusillanimous. What he had heard and seen in Canada made him certain that the United States should align itself with Britain and France in defense of justice and international fair dealings, the sooner the better. These and other factors made him view the President's re-election in November, 1916, not with surprise but with dismay.

In January, 1917, when the Allied cause was in dire straits, Brent was asked by the Canadian authorities to visit the troops in Europe. He sailed for England on the thirteenth. For a month he was sent from place to place in England, preaching sermons, making noon-hour talks in munition factories and shipyards, meeting with groups at military installations. Often he tried to interpret America to British audiences. Three entries in his diary that month reveal the main lines of his thinking. "In the circumstances peace without victory would be as wrong as victory without peace." "Assured the audience that America's heart was all right, and that many of us recognized that the Allies were fighting our battles." "Zimmerman's astounding declaration of war on the world [i.e., unrestricted submarine activity] read to us by Bishop Eden with American press comments. It means war. I wish it could have come for a less selfish reason."

At the end of February, Brent was sent to France to see the religious and moral needs of the troops at first hand and to be of what help to the chaplains he could. He spent March at close grips with the desperate struggle. He addressed various Canadian units, conferred with groups of officers about problems of morale, spent much time with the chaplains and the welfare organizations.

Toward the end of the month he wrote in his diary: "War is hell—that is the verdict of those who know it best. The word hell is among the most used along the battle front. It is not merely the crimson hate, the busy death, the brazen fury of the trenches. At the base camps, at the camps in England, war is hell. Lust rages and reigns. Bodies are corrupted with a corruption worse

than death. But human nature has discovered new power in this hell — power to dare and do at all costs which we didn't dream it possessed, power to suffer on the waves, in the trenches, on the road, in the hospitals, beyond all that we imagined. It is for us all to tax ourselves in a search for that same power and to put it into effect to hasten the end, to mitigate the evil, to destroy the power of this infamous, hideous war. One comes away from it staggering, furious with its fury, loathing the corruption of it, determined to wreak a vengeance of pain on himself for it. The one happy thought is that Christ is yonder and that He is soothing, healing, forgiving — the never absent Companion."

When he returned to England in early April the situation had entirely changed. America was at last committed. He was asked to preach on April 20 in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Every possible detail combined to make the service impressive. War-worn London was roused to a new enthusiasm by hope for victory with the aid of a fresh and powerful ally. The Stars and Stripes were flown from Victoria Tower side by side with the Union Jack — the first time that the flag of another nation had ever been displayed in London on equal terms with the flag of England. As the king and queen drove through the streets to St. Paul's the cheering throngs and the flags fluttering in the spring sunshine gave their testimony to the new feeling of confidence that was in the air. They were met at the western door of the cathedral by the Bishop of London, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and the American ambassador. In the procession that marched into the church were dignitaries military, civil, and ecclesiastical, English and American, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The cathedral was crowded, and of especial note were the group of wounded Americans who represented the impetuous spirit of youth which could not brook America's delay at entering the war, and had already as individuals flung themselves into the cause of the Allies in France.

Brent took a long text from the thirteenth chapter of the second book of the Maccabees, ending with the phrase, "And having given out to his men the watchword, victory is God's." The spirit

of those war days comes alive again as one reads the words of the sermon.

"The altar upon which Americans today are laying their lives and their fortunes is already occupied. For nearly three years neither day nor night has passed in which an English contribution of the most sacred things in the world has not been laid upon that altar. . . . We Americans have never been oblivious to the fact that the people of this country have been standing for the same principles which we learned from them and for which we live. England, thank God, is the mother of democracy, and England's children come back today and pour all their experience — an experience of a century and a half of independent life — with gratitude at the feet of their mother. The aid which we gave her began with sympathy and works of compassion. But we have graduated from that. Our sympathy for the sufferers has risen into a participation in their sufferings, and today we stand side by side with our fellows as common soldiers in a common fight. . . . Indeed it would be impossible for us to do otherwise, being what we are. A moment comes when failure to give all that we have, even though the generosity is great, is such a moral failure that it would endanger the soul of a nation, and this act of America has enabled her to find her soul. Our immediate purpose is to seal here our pledge of sacrifice, our lives, our fortunes, and all that we possess to the cause of God and humanity."

When later in the sermon Brent used the words, "The object of the war today is to end war," he was expressing his profound conviction. Within four years he was forced to alter it. He was in Paris when President Wilson arrived to participate in framing a peace treaty. Convinced of the President's sincere desire to achieve a treaty that would make secure the peace for which thousands had died, but already doubtful whether the obstacles to such a settlement could be overcome, he remarked to Bishop Perry, with whom he was watching Mr. Wilson driving through the streets, acclaimed deliriously as a new messiah, "There goes a great man riding to his doom." After the Treaty of Versailles brought no guarantee of lasting peace Brent argued that war

could never end war: only the right sort of international arrangements, re-enforced by co-operation and machinery to secure justice and restrain lawless groups, could do that.

Immediately after the sermon Brent went to Liverpool to sail for America. His stay in the United States was brief. He spoke as often as possible about the war; he strove in every way he could to get more funds for his Moro work; he gave as much time as he could to the Red Cross, some of the leaders of which wanted him to work in that organization for the duration. As General Pershing had suggested to him that he organize the work of the chaplains in the A.E.F., he asked some of his friends whether they thought he ought to assume this responsibility. In July, 1917, he sailed for the last time to the Philippines.

Farewell to the Philippines

The Bishop's friends in Manila gave him, on this home-coming, an unusually warm welcome. He brought them news at first hand from France, which the English colony especially wanted to hear, and, in addition, there was a general feeling that his stay with them would not be long. His friends knew that his years in the tropics had taken their toll of his strength. The incessant demands of civilization under strain in Europe and America created a situation that would make his return to America certain.

He made a last tour of his mountain mission stations and of the southern islands, including Jolo. While riding through the mountains of Luzon he worked out the first draft of *The Mount of Vision*, a book he had promised to prepare for the Bishop of London for Lent, 1918. The final draft was completed on the tour of the southern islands and between engagements in Manila. His aim was to help his readers to get a true perspective on the war, to see it, the sufferings it caused and the problems it raised, in the light of God's whole plan. Its most important theme is "wholeness." It contains superb insights which make it of permanent value despite the defects inseparable from the circumstances of its composition.

He could not get his mind away from the situation in Europe.

The tragedy being enacted there exaggerated his concern over his local problems and his sense of failure. "The dead, black weight of the heathen world is sometimes unbearable — yet God made it of that material and with the opportunities that belong to it. One must be patient with it. If we with much light get so short a distance how can we expect them with little to make rapid progress? After all the heathen world is God's and it is His business to do the major part of the work in improving it."

On September 11, a cable inquired whether he would consider a call to the diocese of Western New York. His diary shows that his natural instincts longed for the post but that he battled against these desires. He thought another could do the Philippine work better than he, that to stay longer meant his speedy death, that if his ministry ended in the Islands it would be a failure, with nothing constructive accomplished; but also he knew that to return to America if God wanted him in Manila would be the worst failure of all. So he waited for further light, determined that if it were right for him to remain in the Philippines until he died he would do so cheerfully and would try to make his part of them a garden spot of the Lord's. While wrestling with this question he received an urgent cable from his friend Carter, of the Y.M.C.A., then in Paris, calling him to help American troops in France. At once he cabled his willingness to go.

Though there were very pressing tasks to occupy him and nothing was settled, he felt that his life in the Far East had ended; and he felt it had ended in failure, for his last act was an attempt to patch up a quarrel between two missionaries. He sailed for Vancouver on October 20 on the *Empress of Russia*. When the ship stopped at Weihaiwei to take on 2,250 Chinese coolies, herded aboard the liner for labor in France, he realized that the war had invaded even the peace of the Pacific. It was a gloomy voyage, and the sudden death of two of his fellow passengers, one a melancholy suicide, depressed him.

Landing at Vancouver, he went straight to Buffalo to discuss problems raised by his election as Bishop of Western New York. He asked the authorities whether they would consider accepting

him as Bishop with a proviso that he would be free to go to France for the duration of the war. They expressed themselves as ready to do this, and he left for New York to take counsel with his friends there.

He finally made the decision. "I have made my momentous decision, wiring Hayes, Sills, and Goodwin. The chief factor making for doubt is my health. God willing, I shall preserve and improve that by trust and courage. In accepting W.N.Y., I have chosen in line with my personal preference though not because of it. It is the first time in my experience that I have so done where a great matter was involved." After settling this matter he prepared to go abroad at once.

In France with the Y.M.C.A.

The Bishop went to France as a special representative of the War Council of the Y.M.C.A. to bring about unity between that organization and the fighting forces. There had been friction between General Pershing and the Y leaders in France. The organization had not fulfilled the General's hopes for it, due to many difficulties of transportation, lack of funds, inability to get men. Dr. John R. Mott, head of the Y.M.C.A., wanted Brent to help Carter to organize its work in France and Italy, and especially to be the man to deal, on its behalf, with the Commander in Chief.

Brent reached London just in time for an air raid by twenty-five German planes. The fact that the laundry where he had left his clothes was destroyed by a bomb in the raid seemed to bring him into personal touch with the struggle at once. He did not linger long in London.

It was obvious to him from the start that the more or less vague basis on which he went to France would shortly resolve itself into something more definite. His many friends in the Regular Army, from General Pershing down, wanted him to serve as a chaplain in the forces. The General again suggested that he become in effect, if not in name, the chief of Army chaplains. There were obstacles here: Army requirements, his own feelings, the

sentiments of colleagues and friends who had grave doubts as to the propriety of a bishop wearing uniform. A letter to his sisters shows that his own mind was fully occupied with the great issues rather than with his own difficulties. "When people ask you what I am doing, tell them that I am about my Father's business. Official position may be useful and men like to speak in high-sounding terms, but so far as I am concerned I do not care a snap for official position as long as I have such opportunities as are stretching out in limitless ways before me."

The little red notebook of the early months of 1918 contains notes for addresses made under every conceivable condition, as well as meditations written within sound of the guns, many of them dwelling upon the same theme, the spiritual justification of the war. His addresses were not mere special pleadings: they represented his intense eagerness to see the meaning of the conflict from Christian perspective. One passage shows his interpretation of the struggle, and how his conviction of God's activity as both justice and mercy, destruction and creation, enabled him to hold his faith in God's love despite the horrors of war.

"He is a small man and but slimly endowed with courage who does not exult, and thank God for having matched him with this hour. It is neither mad nor presumptuous to face the world of today with fearlessness and expectancy. It is the normal temper of the Christian to look up and lift up his head in all times and all places but especially when hostile forces set their battle array. Unless we are reading the signs of the times amiss, the Kingdom of Heaven is close at hand, closer than we think, and some new phase of redemption draweth nigh. Nearness, however, is of no value unless its contents are seized and appropriated by skilled and courageous hands. . . .

"In the first place a salutary whirlwind is sweeping through the world, bearing both life and death in its tearing, scorching breath. It is purifying and burnishing that which is durable and clean: it is withering and demolishing that which is unstable and unclean. The War is not the whirlwind. It is rather its weapon, unsheathed by man but wielded by God. The whirlwind is the

fiery Spirit of God in a passion of love, bent on revealing the good and dissipating the bad. . . .

"We have suddenly learned what a faulty and unreliable thing civilization as we have known it hitherto was. We had outgrown it and did not know it. Our loyalty to mere continuity was our undoing. We resisted radical change as though the fault of those who advocated it was that they were too extreme whereas the truth of the matter was that they were not extreme enough. Now we see gasping in the grip of death the civilization which cajoled us into paying it divine honors. Its soul will live but its body will die and rise again after the refinement of death, if we so will. Our part is not to try to keep it alive as it was but to help it to die, and win fresh life out of death. What we are striving for is a new international order, based upon the broad universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches!"

As the number of our troops grew, it became increasingly clear to the high command that some direction was necessary for the various chaplains and the welfare organizations. In the old Regular Army a chaplain was simply a regimental officer assigned to a regiment, with no one interested in his welfare and no one to whom he was responsible other than his immediate commanding officer. In the British Army the chaplains were a regular group by themselves under a chief of chaplains who had some control over their assignments. General Pershing decided that the chaplains' office should be established at the headquarters of the A.E.F. at Chaumont under a senior chaplain, and asked Brent to serve in that capacity.

All through the early months of 1918, Brent, though technically only a special agent of the Y.M.C.A., had in fact been serving as headquarters chaplain at Chaumont, gradually setting up the Chaplains' Organization which later functioned so well. Various relationships to the Army organizations were suggested and discarded. Here are three conclusions he reached in early June about the Chaplains' Organization. The château referred to was located near Chaumont; later the center was moved to Le Mans.

"1. The Chaplains must be shaped into a corps so that they will not be counted an appendage to the Regiment or the Col. like the band. They are the only remnant of regimental fixity. 2. We must rid the chaplains of some of their incumbrances of work — censoring. 3. We must make our château a replacement (or assignment) centre."

That month of June, 1918, was a bad time in France. The British line was thin, and the looked-for reinforcements from America were slow in coming. Sometimes it looked as if it would be a very long war with possibly no ultimate conclusion. It was at this time that General Pershing determined to send a message to the Grand Fleet and the American ships associated with them, and selected Brent to deliver it.

June 28 was a clear sunshiny morning in Scapa Flow. The Grand Fleet lay at anchor, every vessel in its designated position. Only one anchorage was vacant, where *H.M.S. Vanguard* had blown up in July, 1917. Launches converged on the flagship *Queen Elizabeth*, and presently two thousand officers and men stood massed on her deck. On the quarter-deck stood five admirals: — Beatty, Brock, Napier, Browning, Prendegast — *nomina illustria*. Brent was taken to the top of a gun turret, from which he delivered the message from the men of the A.E.F. to their comrades of the Grand Fleet — a message of cheer, of good hope, of faith in the common cause, of confidence in ultimate victory. Subsequently he repeated the address on the *Resolution* and on the ships of the American squadron. In all, he spoke to over eleven thousand men that day.

The reception he received startled him. One observer, the chaplain of the *Queen Elizabeth*, tried to account for it in a letter to Ogilby. The sailors saw quickly that a uniform was not natural to him. But the poise of his head, his mobile hands, his winning smile accentuating the lines on his face that told of the horrors he had witnessed in France, marked him as a man of power. The utter sincerity and simplicity of his words, and the authority in his tone as he assured them that only righteousness could ultimately prevail, made them feel that he brought a message not

only from General Pershing but also from the King of Kings. They knew that he was speaking to their souls as men, interpreting to them the meaning of the war. "During the war many visitors came on board 'Queen Elizabeth,' and the men were called on to listen to many addresses. Bishop Brent . . . made more impression than anyone else."

His addresses delivered, Brent was given opportunity to see something of the precision that marked the handling of the ships, and their constant readiness for action. The extraordinary accuracy with which the guns on the American ships were worked struck him more than anything else. Regretfully declining an invitation to put to sea on a scouting expedition after two German cruisers, he returned to France.

In Paris, Brent found his commission as a major and chaplain awaiting him, and was glad to salute General Pershing in their new relationship. Their old friendship was deepened during the ensuing months.

Senior Headquarter's Chaplain, A.E.F.

As Senior Headquarter's Chaplain, A.E.F., Brent blocked out a routine for his life which gave him opportunity for meditation and prayer on all but the worst days. His office at Chaumont was a screened-off corner of a chapel, with his desk so arranged that by simply lifting his eyes he could see the altar. Occasional and regular services in that chapel meant much to those associated with him in his work, as well as to visitors in trouble.

In view of the fact that many newly commissioned chaplains were going over to France with little equipment besides emotional zeal, Brent established a chaplains' school at Neuilly where the men were given such brief and hasty instructions as could be crowded into their days, and were assigned to such positions with troops or at hospitals as seemed wise. Here it could be made plain to them that chaplains were ministers of Christ rather than officers of the U.S. Army, a point further driven home by Brent's insistence that no chaplain wear any insigne of military rank.

In all his work in building up the morale of the Chaplains'

Corps Brent trusted to the devotion of his subordinates, especially to his two assistants at headquarters, Father Doherty, representing the Roman Catholic Church, and the Reverend Paul D. Moody, efficient son of a distinguished father, later president of Middlebury College. Too much credit cannot be given to those two men who were singularly effective in crystallizing the Bishop's ideals in action.

General Pershing felt a deep responsibility for the morality, as well as for the morale, of his troops. He was determined that they should be physically fit; he was also eager to keep them from the moral degradation that so often accompanied venereal infection. Some high officers in France were content to accept the French principle of the *maison tolérée*, in the belief that there was no use trying to prevent licentiousness in soldiers on leave. Strengthened by the assurance that his Commander in Chief had no such delusion, Brent labored constantly to persuade those in authority to take every possible measure to protect American soldiers and keep them at their best. He visited frequently the places designated in the south of France as recreation centers for troops withdrawn from the line, and tried constantly to focus the attention of the welfare agencies on their problem. When everything else had been tried in several places, he reported the facts to General Pershing who always closed any particular leave area to American troops that the Bishop recommended.

The alleviation of this problem offered by prophylactic measures was, in Brent's eyes, no solution at all. In his report at the close of the war to the Adjutant General of the Army, he handled this matter in unmistakable terms.

"It has been noted that where officers, non-commissioned as well as commissioned, have a sense of responsibility for the moral not less than the military character of their men, a clean command is the result. The venereal rate is not the true thermometer of an Army. It may simply indicate scientific skill in evading the consequences of sexual looseness. The prophylactic rate in connection with the venereal rate is a truer gauge. The latter indicates the men who did not escape physical penalties. The former

shows those who have been morally guilty but have had recourse to prophylaxis.

"The legitimacy of prophylaxis on ethical grounds is clear in our judgment, provided that it is given under adequate safeguards.

"1. We advocate prophylaxis stations administered by carefully selected men.

"2. The indiscriminate distribution of prophylactic packages is, in our judgment, a psychological error that carries evil consequences in its train.

"3. Men should be given to understand that prophylaxis is not intended to give immunity to fornicators and adulterers in their uncleanness, but to protect innocent men and women against awful contamination and disease."

It was characteristic of Brent to regard morality as a matter of character and principle, to be attained not by restrictive measure or by scientific prophylaxis. Morality he thought was rooted in religion and he felt that his chaplains constituted the first line in the attack against physical excesses. If they made Christianity a vital force, the moral problem would be solved. If they saw to it that wholesome recreation was provided, fewer men would seek houses of prostitution. In the years after the war, he always took pride in referring to the record of one regiment which, on returning from France, was found to be so physically fit and clean that the Medical Corps ordered a special investigation and report to be sure that the facts were as stated, and he took pride in this record because the officers maintained that the high morale as well as the virile morality of the men was due in large measure to the work of the chaplain. The chaplain in question was, as far as I can determine, Remsen Ogilby.

The value of Brent's work as Senior Headquarter's Chaplain of the American Expeditionary Forces consisted not only in his organizing and leading the Chaplains' Corps and in the personal services that he was able to give to individuals in distress, but also in the plans he worked out for establishing proper relations between all the welfare organizations of an army in the field. His

diary and his correspondence tell something of the way he met human need in those trying days in France: his report to the Adjutant General at the end of the war contains a permanent record of the other side of his work.

Since Brent went to France first as a special agent of the Y.M.C.A., he naturally remained in constant touch with its leaders, as well as with the leaders of all welfare organizations. Because he understood the difficulties of ministering to the physical, as well as the spiritual, need of the troops he was never unduly critical of the failures of any individual or any organization. On the other hand, he was keenly critical of whatever was due to inefficiency and lack of the high idealism which must be maintained by any volunteer organization at work with fighting troops.

It became increasingly clear that co-ordination of all welfare agencies must be assured. Nothing impedes the efficiency of an army so much as well-meaning blundering. At our entrance into the war there was let loose a vast amount of emotion and devotion which tried to express itself in activities ranging from poorly knitted socks to trombone solos supposed to soothe badly wounded men. To Brent the solution seemed to lie in the direction of an efficient Chaplains' Corps. If all the welfare organizations, the Y.M.C.A., Red Cross, Knights of Columbus, and others, could be directed to function under the orders of the chaplain in charge of the unit concerned or area involved, the chaplain, granted his efficiency, could serve as the proper liaison between the soldiers themselves and those ready to give such services as were often sorely needed. In the later months of the war attempts were made to set up such an arrangement, reinforced by Army orders. The increased efficiency that resulted is a tribute in part to Brent's judgment.

Perhaps it was because of his intense virility, perhaps because of his training in his long and dangerous journeys in the Philippines, that he got a sense of spiritual satisfaction in sharing the discomforts and perils of Army life. At any rate, he did face danger, and that despite the fact that in order to safeguard him General Pershing usually declined his requests for permission to visit

the front. One day, for instance, he was in the trenches near Seicheprey. After he had spent about half an hour at a listening post within thirty-five yards of the enemy, the Germans began shelling the area. Brent and his companion ran down a trench which was under enfilading fire to a place of relative safety. Shortly afterward he was standing near some of our guns when the whine of approaching shells was heard. He and the lieutenant dived into the nearest ditch. When a lull came in the enemy's shelling, they went to a near-by dugout. As they entered it, the lieutenant asked him, "Do you realize that we were taking shelter right beside an ammunition dump?"

As the end of the war approached, Brent was anxious that Germany be forced to admit military defeat. "The Germans ask for peace pour-parlers and immediate armistice. They are not as clever as they think. They do not know that the whole world can see through their flimsy trick. They are defeated and on the verge of collapse. They want to claim peace on the score of humanity(!) instead of defeat. But it cannot be so and God would not have us allow it."

It might seem as though the Bishop had been carried off his feet by the passions of the times. "Met by Maj. Earp and Capt. Kirkland who informed me that Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria had asked for an armistice. I do not see how we can grant it. Germany will do as her soldiers have done, throw up her hands and cry Kamerad and then shoot us in the back. She is a bully and a coward, unable to stand reverses. She should be offered terms dictated to her at the muzzle of a gun and should give hostages—the two Emperors." Yet the fundamental perception with which he faced the war remained unchanged. "It seems out here so absurd—this planning to destroy and the wiping out of our best youth. Man is a mad creature. Yet as I said to the men to-night America is in the war because she values honor above physical life, the things that are not seen above the things that are seen."

Immediately after the armistice, Brent went forward into Germany with a number of officers to arrange hospitals and other

facilities for our invading troops. He moved forward on the heels of the retreating Germans.

"At Remich we saw the first of the retreating German column. We were on the Luxembourg side of the Moselle. Crossing the bridge at this point and as far as we could see were the German troops in perfect order without a sign of decreased discipline or lowered morale. They were fine looking, well fed, well clothed men. Their transportation was in excellent condition. The harness was patched and leather was evidently scarce. The horses were good animals, well cared for and well nourished. . . . The town of Trier was interested in the homecoming soldiers in a very quiet way. There was an arch at the entrance of the town bidding a 'welcome home to our unconquered heroes.' Evidently defeat can be camouflaged as well as guns! But these German soldiers want to go home. They have had enough of unfriendliness."

Criticisms of Brent's Wartime Activities

Brent was criticized by various people for donning khaki, for giving way to hate against the Germans, for romanticizing war as a glamorous undertaking.

His diaries and letters reveal no hate. He felt intense moral indignation at the tragedy he thought Germany had brought on the world; he thought she must be convinced she had been beaten and that she would be similarly beaten if ever again she embarked on an effort of military aggrandizement, and that this could be accomplished only by unconditional surrender; he allowed himself unusually strong language which he may have regretted later. Nor do they contain evidence that Brent ever thought there was any glamour in war. It was always a very dirty, but tragically necessary, business in his eyes. The bravery with which men did their duty won his unfeigned admiration. To admire soldiers is a different thing from thinking war glamorous. Brent never ceased to admire them even in the days when he was most convinced that much of their heroism had been rendered futile by the failure to agree upon a treaty which could furnish

the basis of a lasting peace. He never felt obliged to apologize for wearing an Army uniform, for it gave him the best opportunity available to serve the Army as a clergyman.

Years after the war, General Pershing in retrospect summarized in a letter to the author his views of Brent's service in the Army by quoting the citation with which he conferred upon him the Distinguished Service Medal: "As Senior Headquarter's Chaplain, he organized the Chaplains School and established a schematic plan of religious effort, enabling all chaplains throughout France to further those excellent results which have marked their duties amongst the troops. By his loyal spirit of cooperation, and by his masterful attainments, he has rendered services of most conspicuous merit and lasting value to the American government." In more personal terms, the General's letter continues. "Because of his devotion to the ideals and obligations of Christianity, his great abilities, his warm human traits of character, Bishop Brent was, in my estimation, the outstanding missionary, Christian and leader. It was to me always an inspiration to be associated with him."

Perhaps the chief index to Brent's accomplishments as Senior Headquarter's Chaplain is that the reorganization of the Chaplains' Corps after the war followed the lines he worked out in practice and in his report to the Adjutant General. But there was one significant change. Brent felt that a chaplain must always be a clergyman first, last, and all the time. Therefore he refused to let those under his command wear insignia of military rank lest men regard them primarily as officers rather than as ministers, and lest the chaplains should think of themselves as lieutenants or captains. In the postwar reorganization, bars and maple leaves and eagles were returned to their shoulders.

BISHOP OF WESTERN NEW YORK

New Vitality in an Old Diocese

BRENT CONTRIBUTED LESS TO THE EXTENSION OF THE KINGDOM OF God in the world as Bishop of Western New York than in other ways, but study confirms the opinion of his colleague and successor, Bishop Davis, that he practically "raised the diocese from the dead, establishing a tradition and a spiritual life which I trust will never die."

Though elected Bishop of Western New York on October 2, 1917, Brent was unable to accept the post for three months. Technically he became Diocesan on January 19, 1918, but the war prevented his entering upon the duties of the office until February 6, 1919. His episcopate is remarkable for the development of the diocese in spite of the amount of time he devoted to extra-diocesan affairs.

In the ten years of his episcopate Brent made nine trips to Europe: in 1920 to attend the preliminary Faith and Order Meeting in Geneva; in 1921 to give the Duff Lectures in the Scottish universities and to preach in many Scottish cities;¹ in the spring of 1923 to represent the United States on the Advisory Committee on Narcotics of the League of Nations, and in the

¹ These lectures were delivered from brief notes and taken down in shorthand. Brent never had time to revise the typescript until the closing weeks of his life, and had revised only two when he died. They were published posthumously in the condition in which he left them, under the title, *The Commonwealth; Its Foundations and Pillars*. In these lectures he painted in broad outline the human situation, examined it in the light of a few basic Christian convictions, estimated the possibilities opened to mankind in the postwar world by God's will and their own divinely given capacities, and tried to combat "an almost fatalistic belief in man's known incapacity." It is the best expression of his matured view of the Church's mission. Much of it is of permanent value, though parts are dated.

autumn of the same year for another session of the Committee; in November, 1924, to represent his country at the International Opium Conference in Geneva, and to attend to business of the Faith and Order Continuation Committee; in July, 1925, to attend the Stockholm Conference on Life and Work; in March, 1926, to visit the American Churches in Europe, and to win adherents to the forthcoming Lausanne Conference; in June, 1927, to preside at the Convocation of the American Churches in Europe, to represent the Episcopal Church on the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference, and to attend Lausanne; in November, 1928, to represent the Episcopal Church at the Canterbury functions. All told, these trips kept him out of the country almost twenty-one months. In addition, he was confined to hospitals, or undergoing enforced rests, for approximately another year. It is typical of the breadth of his interests that when resting for several months in the South he undertook an intensive study of the birds in that section, a pursuit which gave him as much pleasure as did his wood carving. Then there were the journeys to meetings of the House of Bishops, General Convention, the Board of Missions, the Faith and Order Business Committee, the committee managing the Moro school, and many other ecclesiastical and social bodies, besides innumerable trips for preaching and lecturing engagements. He was away from the diocese over a third of the time. But before accepting his election he had warned the representatives of the diocese that he would always be a servant of wider causes of Christianity which might take him away frequently, and that unless this was understood he could not become their bishop.

The diocese did not complain. It was proud that its Bishop was so important a figure and felt that if he accomplished something for the wider causes of the Church and humanity, it had a part in his achievements by supporting and abetting him. It thought that no American minister had had a prestige and influence comparable to his since Phillips Brooks; certainly no Episcopalian. It was happy that he was affectionately called "Everybody's Bishop." To enable him to do these other things, it elected Dr.

David Lincoln Ferris as Bishop Suffragan in May, 1920; and in May, 1924, promoted him to be Bishop Coadjutor.¹

Ordinarily the vigor of a diocese slumps when its leader is absent so much. But Western New York went ahead under Brent. His contribution to its life was very significant. It can be summed up in the word "inspiration." Dr. Burrows, in his history of the diocese, wrote: "Bishop Brent's coming into the Diocese was like a strong, fresh breeze stirring up a heavy atmosphere. . . . In his greatness he swept the Diocese along with him. It was not possible to think and plan along narrow, petty lines with him as leader."

Brent was able to communicate to the clerical and lay leaders his vision of the Church's opportunities, privileges, and responsibilities in the western part of New York State. Not only could he make them see his vision to a considerable extent, but he infected them with his enthusiasm for it. In consultation with them plans were drawn in the large; the details he left to leaders responsible for executing them. In like manner he enabled rectors and congregations to see what they could and should do in their immediate areas, and then wisely refrained from dictating the precise methods by which to meet these openings. In every section of his jurisdiction a new spirit began to stir. A new era of spiritual, numerical, and material growth dawned.

Shortly after Brent moved to Buffalo, the Episcopal Church undertook a Nation-wide Campaign, an intensive effort to educate its people in the mission Christ left to his followers, to train them better in prayer, and to institute in every parish a systematic canvass for the total work of the Church. Brent was eager for his diocese to take its part. A strong committee of clergy, lay men and women was formed. Meetings were held in the chief centers. Over seven hundred thousand dollars were pledged. This effort awoke the diocese to what it could do to serve the people within its borders, to its financial capacities, and to the untapped sources of spiritual power.

¹ In the Episcopal Church a Bishop Suffragan has neither specific jurisdiction nor the right of succession; a Bishop Coadjutor has both.

The new spirit quickly began to create new machinery through which to function, and Brent took his full part in developing these organizations. He created the Church Extension Societies in Buffalo and Rochester. He placed the rural work on a better footing, first through inaugurating the County Mission plan, putting a number of clergy in one spot from which they served the entire county, drawing inspiration and counsel by living in close proximity instead of separately in various small hamlets, and when this plan did not succeed so well as he had hoped, by limiting the number of stations served by any minister to two, thus making possible much more intensive pastoral work than had been the rule formerly. He pushed the work among children, and gave his assistance in improving religious education and in bringing the Churches into closer and more effective relationships with the public schools. He encouraged the work of social service and promoted the Church Mission of Help, and his interest gave new momentum to special groups like the Brotherhood of St. Andrew, the Daughters of the King, the Girls' Friendly Society, and the Church Service League. In fact, so many new organizations appeared that, at his suggestion, a Co-ordinating Committee was created to bring all the activities of the diocese into one integrated program. Most of the detail work of organizing and promoting the Nation-wide Campaign and the many new pieces of machinery were done by other men. Two especially were indispensable: the Reverend Doctor W. A. R. Goodwin, rector of St. Paul's Church, Rochester, and the Reverend Doctor Cameron J. Davis, rector of Trinity Church, Buffalo, and later Bishop of Western New York.

Brent was greatly concerned over the increasing funds needed to finance the work inside the diocese and to maintain the diocese's contributions to the work of the Church as a whole. He did not raise money himself, but he was distressed by the lack of it and supported those who worked to get it. His aims were very great; funds and personal service were not forthcoming in sufficient quantity to realize them; he was periodically depressed over what he regarded as his failure. Wrote Dr. Burrows in his his-

tory: "The disappointments were, we believe, inevitable. When did man's achievements ever equal a dreamer's dreams or a seer's vision? Here was a Bishop who dealt in terms of heaven and the Churchmen of Western New York were just human beings living on earth."

Statistics are often misleading, especially when there is a possibility of inaccuracy in the figures. But the best available figures show an increase in communicant strength during the decade 1920 to 1930, the more significant because the diocese was divided in this period. The actual numbers are 31,569 in 1920 and 36,548 in 1930 when the diocese covered only half its original territory. During the same period total contributions jumped from \$470,788 to \$1,101,774. There is no possible way of measuring the increased spiritual vitality.

Brent's Contribution

Brent's part in all this development was largely that of creating vision, enthusiasm, the will to work and to give. Most of it he accomplished through his addresses to diocesan conventions and to district meetings, through his sermons in the various parishes, through conferences with vestries, the Executive Council and the special committees. He also did much in devotional gatherings of the clergy, leading many of them to new depths of prayer and consecration, helping them to appreciate the importance of their work as pastors and spiritual guides, encouraging them to more active participation in community affairs, urging and when necessary prodding them to more intensive and open-minded study of the great philosophical and ethical problems with which Christian faith was confronted. Several of his clergy told the author that in their opinion the Bishop's most important contribution to the life of the diocese was made in small, intimate gatherings for meditation, prayer, and the discussion of the profounder issues of discipleship; for in these his spiritual power and moral passion and humorous common sense were irresistible.

Obviously a major part of the confirmations and routine administrative detail fell upon Bishop Ferris. He was untiring, pa-

tient, unfailingly loyal; he was widely known and loved; he was by instinct and practice a great pastor at large. At the time of his election as Suffragan, Brent noted in his diary intense satisfaction at having such a colleague; and when he was made Coadjutor, Brent recorded his glad assurance that should he die suddenly the work of the diocese would go forward unimpaired. "We could not have found a truer servant of Christ and the Church."

It seems quite clear that Brent rarely enjoyed his visitations to parishes and missions. Though his regret that it was not feasible to bring the confirmation candidates from a number of parishes to one central church for a joint service was chiefly due to his conviction that such a crowded service, with combined choirs and congregations, would be far more inspiring and memorable to the candidates than sparsely attended ones in small congregations with weak choirs, it was also due to the wearying, at times exhausting, schedules of his Sundays in the diocese. To choose at random one Sunday, his diary for May 25, 1924, shows that he spent the day in Lockport and its environs. There was an eight o'clock service of Holy Communion at which he was the celebrant, followed by a breakfast at which he addressed the Young People's Fellowship; confirmations and sermons at 11:00, 3:00, 5:00, and 7:30; a late trip home. He thought that he could be of more service to the Kingdom of God if all these confirmations had been held at one time, and the energy employed in the other services used in a different way. Furthermore, he doubted the value of such "hit and run" visitations. Of far greater worth in his eyes would have been a service followed by lunch with the candidates and a leisurely meeting during which he could have discussed with them the meaning of Christian discipleship. His schedule made his relation to those he confirmed purely formal, almost mechanical. But the amount of time he was away necessitated such a schedule when he was at home.

Perhaps this schedule was also the cause for the speed at which he drove his car, and for the times he was stopped by traffic policemen for speeding. But it must be admitted that he liked to drive fast, and that sometimes when his mind was racing over

some problem he was quite unaware that he was gradually increasing the pace of his car. His diary records several occasions when traffic officers, discovering who it was they had stopped, tried to find excuses for releasing him, but he humorously refused to connive in their kindly intentions, insisting that if he had violated the law he ought to pay the penalty. "Perhaps it will teach me to go slower — but I haven't much confidence. I'm too old to learn new tricks like watching my speedometer!"

Brent made mistakes — as who does not. His rapid expansion of diocesan and parochial property holdings left an almost impossible burden for his successors and for some vestries, especially during the depression that came soon after his death. His judgment of men sometimes was very poor. He looked only at their sincerity and devotion, and though these are unquestionably the most important requisites in clergymen they are not the only ones. The ability to translate the Gospel into words and thought forms meaningful to a particular group of people, wise judgment in formulating parochial programs, the gift of leadership, are all indispensable to the minister of an Episcopal parish; for the law of that Church gives such rights to vestries and congregations that he must be a leader rather than an autocrat as, for example, the pastor of a Roman Catholic parish can be and often is. Brent introduced into the diocese some men who turned out to be very inefficient at their work, and tragic figures as their ineffectiveness became clear to them. His pushing the division of the diocese has been deplored by some who voted for it out of loyalty to him, on the ground that the result was two weak dioceses in place of one strong one. But it must be replied that he inherited this idea, that it made possible far better pastoral work, and that therefore it led to more baptisms and confirmations even while it added to overhead and reduplicated administrative machinery.

Brent never had the chance to gain a pastoral relationship with his people. He wanted to; he had a deep theoretical interest in every one of them. But he never got to know them personally. The amount of time he was outside the diocese, and the efforts to inaugurate and superintend the machinery for the new tasks

undertaken inside his jurisdiction, and the schedule under which he had to conduct his visitations, left him no leisure to become widely and deeply acquainted. Therefore he could not have any personal feeling for the vast majority of his flock. For the few with whom he was thrown a great deal, he felt vital personal responsibility and concern. He had to choose whether to give himself to the work of the diocese as a whole and to wider causes, or to individual people. He chose the former; and in view of the very high store he set by pastoral work we can be sure he made this choice with regret. Circumstances forced him into the role of a divisional rather than of a company commander, to use a military metaphor; and a general can never know and bear on his heart the problems of individual soldiers as a good captain does.

It is true, furthermore, that there are very few references in his diary to visitations beyond bare lists of the places visited and the numbers confirmed; nothing that reveals a deep sense of attachment to people in his diocese comparable to that manifested for his colleagues in wider tasks, or of great concern for the parishes such as that displayed on practically every page for unity, international affairs, the general problem of moral breakdown, and the like. If his diary is a true clue to the interests closest to his heart, he was very much more concerned for the larger movements of the day which affected the welfare of millions of people and of the Church and nation as a whole, than for particular congregations, communities, and individuals in Western New York.

For the first time in his ministry Brent had something like a normal home life, and his delight in it was beyond words. For a while he lived in a rented house. When a movement was begun to buy him one, his diary shows that at first he was doubtful whether the diocese should spend money on such a project, but consented with relief when it was made clear that the building was not to be simply for him but for subsequent bishops. He was intensely interested in all the plans for its remodeling, and, when it was ready for occupancy, in every bit of furniture. His sister, Miss Helen Brent, lived with him throughout this period, and

another sister, Mrs. Haslam, joined them after her husband's death. Generally other members of the family spent the summer with them. To have a home which was not inhabited solely by men fulfilled his craving for normal human associations. To entertain small groups of congenial people with whom he could talk freely was a delight. He craved domesticity almost pathetically, and few hours were as pleasant to him as those spent with friends who dropped in on him informally or into whose homes he went in the same spontaneous manner. All the rich memories of his childhood home found re-embodiment at last.

One is puzzled to account for the influence Brent exerted in Western New York in view of his absences, his mistakes, and his relatively limited acquaintance. All the people consulted have agreed in their estimate of his mistakes, their unbounded enthusiasm for him, their conviction that he was responsible for the rebirth of the diocese.

Some of his influence was due to the fact that when he came to Buffalo he was already a distinguished man and therefore the people were prepared to greet him enthusiastically and to receive from him what he had to give. The moribund condition of the diocese when he arrived made the people more susceptible to forward-looking leadership. The very great effect he had on the few people who were thrown with him closely passed on through them to others. The secret ultimately lies in that most mysterious of phenomena, personality. Some people create about themselves an atmosphere which is the spiritual equivalent of a malarial swamp; others, that of a northern pine forest. One is morally enervating, intellectually distorting, and spiritually deadening; the other is tonic, vitalizing. Among the latter group Brent was pre-eminent. John Lord O'Brien, formerly Solicitor General of the United States, whose life of public service has brought him into contact with many of the leaders of America throughout this century, has stated that only one other man of his acquaintance has had as subtle yet powerful an influence over his associates.

Bishop Davis wrote in a letter of his "great and inspiring and complex and lovable personality. Even after fifteen years I can-

not think or write of him without emotion. He opened up new and glorious vistas to me. . . . He still lives in Western New York." Brent infected his companions with his own vision, his faith in God and in what men could do by God's help, his honesty of thought, his charity, his enthusiasm and courage; and some of this infection spread to the other ministers and laymen who saw but little of him.

Brent's powerful energizing influence was the radiance of an inward light. That light was the result of his direct relation to God, to whose cleansing and invigorating influence he continuously exposed himself through meditation and prayer.

AN APOSTLE OF CHURCH UNITY

The Philippines, Edinburgh, and Cincinnati

THROUGH THE DISCIPLINE OF YEARS BRENT WAS MADE INTO AN APOSTLE of Church unity. God kindled in his heart a vision of the Church, and sent him with a message to the Churches. In this and the next chapter we shall see how that vision was developed and that message delivered.

The first occasion on which Brent made a far-reaching decision on inter-Church affairs occurred in Manila, when shortly after his arrival he had to settle the relation of his work to that of the Roman and Protestant Churches. He brought with him from Boston a definite policy of not trying to convert members of other Churches but to make them better members of the communions to which they belonged: he never saw any reason sufficient to alter this position. The longer he stayed in the Islands, the more he became convinced of the need of co-operation between all Christian groups there.

Brent's judgment of the Church of Rome's work in the Islands was based on two contrasted convictions. On the one hand, he thought that the schema of its allegiance, with its clear-cut discipline and elaborate ritual — political, superficial, and mechanical though he deemed it — was well suited to the temper and illiteracy of the Philippine people, better probably than what Protestantism was offering. On the other hand, he thought increasingly that the illiteracy was due in very large part to the friars who during their practically undisputed sway for nearly four hundred years had prevented adequate education, and also he became convinced that the Roman priesthood was deeply infected by dishonesty and immorality — much more so than the clergy of any other Church — and therefore but little likely to lead people to

lives of integrity and purity. Of the Filipino laity he wrote in his diary, "Their ears are purer than the lips of their pastors." But however bad the priests might be, Rome was part of the Church of Christ, and he would not be a partner to any activity directed against it.

The Bishop's estimate of the Protestant missions was as two-sided as his judgment of the Roman work. He respected their leaders: one of his most valued friends was Dr. James Rodgers, head of the Presbyterian Mission in Manila. For certain of their institutional work, especially their schools, he had high praise. But he became increasingly doubtful about the evangelistic work. For one thing, as has already been pointed out, he was skeptical of rapid conversions; for another, he had no patience with some missionaries whose preaching consisted largely of denouncing Rome without making any real contribution to the essential faith and character of their hearers. The discipline and ritual of Rome, combined with Protestantism's stress on personal faith, education, and character, was the great religious need of the Islands.

Brent always believed in Christian co-operation. He was gratified every time he could help to bring various Christian forces together, and every such occasion opened his eyes to the much greater work that could be done for Christ if those who spoke in His name were united in one Church. He tried to develop a sense of comradeship between his workers and those of other communions. Though he never believed unity could be obtained by minimizing convictions or loyalties, yet he was positive that nothing but good could result from close association and better understanding. Therefore, when opportunity offered he promoted among missionaries common counsel, discussion of beliefs, mutual exchange of experiences, and occasional attendance at each other's services. His periodic worshiping at Roman masses and Protestant services in France during the war years was simply a repetition of his practice in the early days of his missionary labors. His work in the Philippines increased his ability to penetrate behind differences, his appreciation of the value of divergent

views and practices, and his understanding of the difficulties in the ways of reunion.

In June, 1910, Brent attended the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh. The importance of this gathering cannot be overestimated. It stands as a landmark in the history of Christianity; for though there had been conferences of missionaries before, this one appointed a Continuation Committee which carried on the attempt to unify and enrich the work of all non-Roman mission bodies. It was the real beginning of the modern ecumenical movement.

This gathering was of immense importance in Brent's life. It changed his pessimistic idea that unity, as distinct from co-operation, though wholly desirable was attainable only in the very remote future, to a conviction that it was attainable within a century. In his own words: "I was converted. I learned that something was working that was not of man in that conference; that the Spirit of God . . . was preparing a new era in the history of Christianity." He saw that God was trying to give a united Church to men and that if Christians would work for it with hope, courage, and open-mindedness they could receive it. At Edinburgh, God laid hold on him to persuade men so to work. The conference was his call to be an apostle of Church unity.

He began his efforts at Edinburgh. In the discussions on the paramount importance of unity for missions, Brent thought he detected too narrow a vision of what unity meant. The ultimate goal must include the whole of Christendom—Rome as well as Protestantism. It is worth tracing here his changing attitude toward Rome.

A letter from Monsignor Bonomelli, Roman Bishop of Cremona, Italy, affirming the real unity of all who held the Christian faith, coupled with similar sentiments expressed to him by a number of high-ranking prelates and laymen, led Brent to believe that a new spirit was being born in the Roman Church that would make it genuinely catholic instead of narrowly sectarian. In 1903 he had written Bishop Hall, "It is the Tammany-like intrigue of Rome that does the real damage," and as late as 1914,

when writing the biography of Bishop Satterlee, he regretted that the latter's estimate of the Roman Catholic Church was somewhat warped by his intense abhorrence of its spirit of exclusiveness. His disappointment in later years was therefore the more acute when he was forced to conclude that the politically minded group at the Vatican exercised complete control and that it would do nothing to heal the divisions of Christendom but rather deepened them by its tactics. The first indication that he was being driven to this conclusion is in a letter written to Robert H. Gardiner in late 1917, after a series of conversations with Roman theologians and bishops, in which he said that the crucial question of the age was whether Rome would look for truth in frank study and conference or for ways of consolidating and expanding its own political and ecclesiastical power. His view of Rome and of some other groups at this time is indicated in *The Mount of Vision*. "Catholicity hast nothing to recommend it unless it is the condition in which everything is measured and considered in terms of the whole. There is no graver offense than to use a Catholic garment to hide a sectarian heart." The Malines Conferences of 1923 between representatives of Rome and Canterbury made him feel hopeful again, especially because Cardinal Mercier took part. "Let Rome eliminate her monarchical claims, at which Peter must be puzzled, and she will begin to be the Apostolic Church." But his optimism was short-lived, for the Pope soon terminated the negotiations, and in the Bull *Mortalium Animos* forbade his followers to take part in any unity movement except one based on submission to the Vatican. It was a very sad man who noted in his diary on May 10, 1926, after conversations with the Pope, his Secretary of State, and other cardinals, that beyond doubt the Roman Church, though interested in the attempts of the Protestant Churches toward unity, had absolutely no intention of doing anything constructive to forward Christ's will that His Church should be one, and that therefore the rest of Christendom must proceed without regard to her, though leaving a door open for her when God should lead her to renounce sectarianism for catholicity.

From Edinburgh, Brent returned to the United States. The General Convention of the Episcopal Church met in Cincinnati in October in that year of grace, 1910. In the months between, his mind had been dwelling on how the disaster of disunity might be overcome. He had grown increasingly sure that one essential was to bring the points of difference out into the open and examine them frankly. By such a course they might be robbed of much of their power; many of them might be seen to be complementary rather than mutually exclusive, especially if the disagreements were viewed in the light of what the Churches held in common. He records in his diary that at the early Eucharist on the opening day of convention there came upon him vividly a conviction that a world conference should be convened to consider matters of faith and order. The great event in the history of Christendom with which his name will be indissolubly associated forever was thus born in prayer; and every step the Bishop took in promoting it was begun and ended in prayer. It might be said literally that he prayed the conference into existence.

As soon as Brent was convinced that a conference should be held, he began talking about it to his closest friends, especially Robert Gardiner and George Wharton Pepper, clarifying his mind as to its objectives, considering how the project might be launched effectively.

He had been scheduled to address a mass meeting on October 11, attended by both Houses of Convention, the delegates of the Woman's Auxiliary, and scores of visitors. He spoke of the Edinburgh gathering; of the desperate need for unity there revealed; of the tendency to ignore or evade matters of doctrinal difference; of his own conviction that this was folly and that the time had come to examine them frankly in a world conference on faith and order. His speech won immediate response. A resolution was adopted the next day by the House of Deputies calling for the appointment of a committee of the two Houses to consider the subject. The committee was appointed, and on October 19 recommended the establishment of a Joint Commission to promote

a World Conference on Faith and Order. The resolution was passed, Brent was put on the Commission, and the project, the most far-reaching of any effort in his crowded life, was launched.

Discussions of Church unity revealed clearly that Christians differed both on matters of belief and on matters of organization and administration. The two were closely related since the various forms of ecclesiastical administration were originally based upon definite tenets of faith. But in many cases the divergence of underlying beliefs had been greatly minimized. What the Bishop desired,¹ and what the Conference was designed to secure, was the kind of informed discussion that would disentangle the points of fundamental faith upon which sufficient agreement had been reached so that they no longer constituted real grounds for separation, from those upon which men still disagreed sharply and which, therefore, needed further study. Every Church thereby would be forced to distinguish that which was of essential value in its tradition from matters of preference, prejudice, or organizational convenience. When these distinctions were clearly drawn there would be vastly more chance that ways would be found in which these differing but fundamentally complementary values might be funded in a new whole which would be stronger, truer, and spiritually richer than the contributing parts in isolation. It must be emphasized as strongly as possible that Brent's vision was not simply closer co-operation, but of one Christian fellowship making available to its members the heritage of all Christendom, past and present. Ecclesiastical mergers were desirable, and he encouraged them; but they might result in a stronger organization, more convinced than either of its constituents had been that its spiritual and moral resources represented all that Christianity offered, and therefore more dangerously provincial. World-wide unity was essential because only so could the wholeness of Christianity be realized.

¹ The best statement of Brent's aims at this time in book form are three papers included in *The Inspiration of Responsibility* (Longmans, 1915), entitled "The Edinburgh Conference and the Future," "The Realization of Christian Unity," "What Is the Church?"

Of significance far beyond what either might have thought was the friendship formed in Boston between Brent and Robert Hallowell Gardiner. Gardiner was a layman with the combination of devotion and intelligence which has been one of the glories of the Church. For years he was a leader in the Brotherhood of St. Andrew. As increasing experience brought wider vision, he came to see with clarity far beyond the vision of his contemporaries the tragedy of a divided Church, and in his late years devoted himself entirely to the cause of unity which gripped Brent.

The two men were an admirable team. To Brent was given the vision of the prophet and the gift of expressing in biting and vigorous language the challenge. Behind him, usually in the shadow, was Gardiner, always ready to bring to a knotty problem his keen, legally trained mind, and eager to work out the details of such organization as was necessary to realize the vision of his colleague. Just as the combination of the Law and the Prophets was the foundation of the civilization of ancient Israel, by achieving on the one hand social solidarity and on the other by arousing the public conscience, so did the lawyer Gardiner and the prophet Brent work together for the unity of Christ's Church.

Some laymen were among the first to catch the real meaning of Brent's approach to the problem of Christian unity. Too often the clerical idea of unity was that everyone else should conform to the speaker's views and that unity was the same thing as uniformity. Of one of his most distinguished colleagues he wrote in his diary, "The only kind of unity he can grasp is where everybody agrees with him." One of the strong points of Brent's mind, however, was his understanding of diversity within unity, his trust in truth, his insistence on scrutinizing even the most loved practices and formularies, his readiness to sacrifice everything but essential principle and to appropriate whatever was of value in other traditions. "Sectarianism, in spirit and in form, is *par excellence* the cult of the incomplete," he wrote in *The Mount of Vision*. He thought that the timidity which hugged its convictions lest they be hurt in the free interplay of ideas was fatal, and he wrote

Gardiner that he loved the truth because wherever truth was there was safety. Truth was invincible and impregnable. That which collapsed under criticism was, not the truth, but human speculation.

This type of mind was often more intelligible to laymen than to priests. The former had discovered that in large and complex organizations considerable differences in the constituent units could be very useful: they valued diversity within unity. They were accustomed to reconcile conflicts by discussing them frankly in conferences until they learned what was relatively unimportant and until they found a point of agreement upon which they could build a new structure. They had less vested interest in perpetuating overlapping ecclesiastical offices. Furthermore, complete though the devotion of a vestryman to his Church and parish might be, his friendship with laymen of other communions taught him that his own was not the only Church which led men to true Christian faith and living, nor even necessarily the best one for all men. So it was among the laymen that Brent found many of his earliest supporters in the Episcopal Church, and their help meant everything to him. Gardiner was made Secretary of the Joint Commission on Faith and Order; George Zabriskie became its Treasurer; Pepper and Mather were among its most ardent promoters; Morgan its munificent contributor.

If this were a history of the Faith and Order Movement, there would have to be a full discussion of the part played by leading clergymen and laymen of the other Churches, like John R. Mott, William Adams Brown, Peter Ainslee, John D. Rockefeller, and many others. But this book is concerned with Brent's part of the movement, and therefore I have mentioned only some of his own Churchmen whose co-operation he won. His tribute to other Churches must be added. "From the very start it [i.e., the Faith and Order Movement] was a cooperative project."

The Illumination of War

Before a world conference could be held, a great deal of preliminary work was essential. The Commission established a per-

manent office in Boston under Gardiner's direction. Brent, of course, had to carry on his work beyond the seas, but messages expressive of his ideals for the Conference, some scribbled in notebooks beside mountain trails and others penned at leisure during days on shipboard, were sent back to Boston, there made available in pamphlet form, and distributed far and wide. By correspondence and long conversations on his frequent trips to England, Brent won the active support of his friend, Dr. Davidson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who gave the aid of his vigorous personality, sound judgment, and high position to the movement. The Primate was deeply concerned for Church unity; he became an advocate of the Conference on Faith and Order as a means to such unity. Deputations visited Churches throughout Europe, arousing interest and winning support. The Churches in the United States were approached, the majority of which responded favorably.

Before the Conference could be held, World War I broke out. But though the war interrupted the plans of the Commission and greatly delayed the Conference its effect on the movement was not wholly adverse. Brent's reputation was further enhanced, and thereby his ability to command favorable hearings for the cause he championed. Closer ties were formed by the representatives of the various Churches who worked together in the Allied armies. The inability of the divided Churches to act effectively for the healing of the nations made many more people willing to work and take risks for the cause of unity.

The effect of the war on Brent was not to change his purpose but to intensify it. The war made it imperative to work for unity among the nations, and equally it demanded decisive efforts to bring the Churches together. In the face of world-shaking change it was "antediluvian to think simply in terms of continuity." Men must think and act in terms of the new order, the Kingdom of God. A letter to Gardiner reveals his passion. "Last Sunday I was with our fellows just before they went into the great battle, some of them to die before the week closed. In one place the Chaplain asked for the use of the (Roman) Church.

It was refused. The school house was refused. The little town was so crowded with soldiers that the only place we could find for service where we were welcome was a barn yard. There under the wide spreading eaves of a great barn, we set up an improvised altar. The French peasants and the cattle that stood by were hospitable to us. The weather was bleak and dull. It was Bethlehem all over again as the massed men in khaki knelt in the litter of straw before the Christ of Bethlehem. There was no room for Him in the inn. All that exclusiveness can do is to shut out men from itself and perhaps drive them nearer to God. Sometimes ecclesiasticism is so cold and cruel with its anathemas and lack of vision that one wonders how God can continue to use it for His Kingdom—if indeed He does. . . . The world is falling to pieces, the churches are tagging behind the armies, and nothing is being done that is worthy of the name of witness-bearing for unity as Christ begs us to interpret it.”

The war intensified Brent’s passion for unity; it also deepened his belief that this was no impossible goal. He outlined his position in a sermon preached in Holy Trinity Cathedral, Paris, early in 1919. In the A.E.F., proof had been given that the unity of Christendom was not a baseless dream. The fellowship of the 1,300 chaplains of every phase of Christian conviction was a living fact and a great symbol. There had been no lowering of fundamental loyalties, but there had been an interpretation of the lesser in terms of the greater, the Church in terms of the Kingdom of God. This could be perpetuated into civil life. When this interpretation became coterminous with Christendom, Christianity would become Christianity as Christ conceived it.

The war had one other effect on his attitude. Thenceforward, whenever carefully thought-out plans for Church co-operation or organic unity were presented by responsible people, the burden of proof in his mind lay upon the objectors. Proposals must be carefully scrutinized and all the difficulties brought out into the open; but the divine will for unity was so clear and the human need for it so tremendous that unless the objections to specific plans were really insuperable the plans ought to be put into effect.

1919-1927

After the war, the work of the Commission charged with promoting the World Conference on Faith and Order began to bear fruit. Commissions were appointed by sixty-nine co-operating Churches, and it seemed wise to hold a preliminary meeting at Geneva in 1920. The fact that forty nations and seventy Churches were there represented justified the vision of Brent, Gardiner, and their collaborators. Naturally Brent presided at this gathering: from the start he was the acknowledged leader of the movement. His diary shows that he felt very happy over the meeting, for the spirit of understanding and fellowship reigned throughout. It seemed to him that all the Churches, with their special gifts and experiences, had put themselves in God's hand, and men had seriously begun to seek a way to place the treasures of each at the disposal of all.

This preliminary Conference took the responsibility for organizing the World Conference out of the hands of the Episcopal Church's Commission by creating a Continuation Committee, of which Brent was chairman, with definite authority to call the great gathering and make all necessary preparation for it. The Continuation Committee appointed a Business Committee to raise the necessary funds and direct their expenditure. It sought \$200,000: its revised budget for the Conference was \$152,250, of which \$45,000 was for grants to aid delegates with their travel and hotel expenses. Of this group Brent was the active head. A Subjects Committee was also appointed, under the leadership of Dr. Palmer, Bishop of Bombay, to prepare the agenda and to select speakers to open the discussions on the various topics. The Continuation Committee, meeting at Stockholm in 1925, decided to hold the World Conference in 1927; and at Bern, in 1926, settled on Lausanne as the place for the Conference and on the recommendation of the Subjects Committee as the agenda.

At the time of this Bern meeting, Brent wrote that the Anglican and the central Protestant theological traditions needed to be supplemented and corrected by each other. Anglicanism's

stress on the Incarnation and the Sacramental system ought to be balanced by Protestantism's emphasis on the Kingdom of God, and vice versa.

After the meeting at Geneva in 1920 Brent worked prodigiously to insure the success of the World Conference. His diary and correspondence reveal constant activity in persuading individuals and groups to participate in it, raising money for it, making a great many decisions on matters of general policy and small detail, influencing the thinking of other leaders. He wrote innumerable letters and frequent articles for the religious and secular press; he spoke to groups of every sort; he spent hours talking to individuals. For instance, in the summer of 1926 he visited the American Churches in Europe at the request of the Presiding Bishop. After that work was done he spent a month calling on the chief leaders of the German Churches, almost all of whom were either suspicious of the Conference or definitely hostile to it, patiently removing their misconceptions, imparting some of his concern for unity as a way to learning and appropriating the whole treasure of Christianity, and convincing them of the value of frank discussion over points of agreement and difference. On his return to the United States he addressed a series of luncheon meetings to raise funds, and called on certain individuals for the same purpose. He was consulted about how to answer requests from small and eccentric sects that they be included among the bodies sending delegates, and from larger Churches who wanted more representation than they were allotted; he had to give his judgment as to how much money the Business Committee should provide for the expenses of various deputations and individuals, and whether the Subjects Committee should invite this or that person to open the discussion on some topic; he worked hard and with partial success to secure ample opportunity for leaders of the younger Churches in the Orient to express their views; he sought to persuade the hotel-keepers in Lausanne to give more reasonable rates to those attending the Conference. He was in constant touch with Ralph W. Brown who, after Gardiner's death on June 15, 1924, had

been made "Head of the Secretariat" (a title later changed to "Corresponding Secretary"), and with the Reverend Floyd W. Tompkins, Jr., Associate Secretary, inspiring and guiding them.

Though he was in steady communication with the Subjects Committee, and though as chairman of the Continuation Committee he agreed to its proposed agenda, he was far from satisfied with it: it was too Anglican, placed too much emphasis on doctrines of the ministry and sacraments, and made no provision for discussing the prior and more fundamental question, the Kingdom of God and the relation of the Church to it. Unity was the will of God; disunity was the result of sin. The fundamental need was for loyal obedience to the will of God as revealed by Christ. If Christians were at one in obeying him, in living as members of his Kingdom, they would learn how to reconcile differences in the organization and functioning of the Church, in their concepts of grace, ministry, and sacraments. Until they became united in the will to obey him at all costs, they would never be able to end the sin of ecclesiastical disunity. To center attention at first on matters of orders and sacraments was a serious mistake, for they would always be divisive, since no one system could be proven to be divinely commanded, unless studied as elements necessary to enable the Church to serve God's purpose in the world. Church unity was really a moral problem more than anything else.

Brent was also active in preventing the Conference from being diverted into an effort to frame a constitution for a United Church or into a mere theological debating society. Before a concrete plan for a united, world-wide Church could be successfully formulated there must be face-to-face conversation that the different Churches might come to understand one another and approach a common mind; but to discuss theological differences except as men responsible for achieving such fuller insight into truth as would reconcile disagreements and lead to unity was practically blasphemy.

Other Activities, 1920-1927

During the years 1920-1927 Brent's activities were by no means limited to preparation for the World Conference on Faith and Order. Beside his duties as a diocesan bishop, he lectured and preached in universities and schools in the United States and in Canada. His abiding interest in students is indicated in a letter to Ogilby: "There is only one position in the gift of the Church that I earnestly desired but never got, and that was the rectorship of Christ Church, Cambridge (when the Rev. Basil King retired about 1900). But the vestry seemed to think I was not a safe enough person for them." He made many addresses on behalf of the League of Nations in the early twenties, urging that though it was by no means a perfect instrument yet it contained the germ of the sort of international organization that was essential, and that if the United States became a member it could help the League to develop as soundly as the Government of the United States had developed. When the Senate failed to ratify the treaty and the covenant without the reservations which President Wilson declined to accept, Brent worked for American adherence to the world court, testifying before a Senate committee in support of the Hughes plan and very sadly but resolutely opposing that of his intimate friend of many years, George Wharton Pepper, who had become Senator from Pennsylvania. Apparently Brent never understood Pepper's wholehearted support of a world court if it were disassociated from the political implications of the League. He arbitrated several strikes—notably, one of tile setters against contractors and one of the stereotypers' union against the publishers of Buffalo newspapers. He served as a United States representative to conferences on the opium traffic called by the League of Nations. And he was involved in many things in the Episcopal Church: striving to have Bishop Paul Jones—who had been forced to resign his jurisdiction in Utah during the war because of his pacifism—elected to some other diocese; studying the theological problems raised by the debates over miracles and the Virgin birth (his own view being that

miracles were so integral a part of the record of Christ's life that to excise them all would be to alter the portrait of the Gospels, though some alleged miracles were highly doubtful); and working to reconcile the differences of the Modernists and the Conservatives in the controversies that occurred in 1924. And constantly he strove to increase the Church's sense of missionary obligation. At a time when he was depressed by the lack of this sense, he wrote in his diary: "I am hostile to the idea of building great religious monuments in New York and Washington for a religion that is not able to provide the necessities of life for the missionaries and the mission field. Let us do the obligatory before we do the luxurious."

Brent's Idea of Unity

What did Brent mean by a united Church? To clarify his meaning negatively in the first place: he did not mean one in which everything was done by everyone in the same way. Obviously the activities of congregations and larger units ought to be organized and managed in different ways according to the genius of different peoples. In worship he thought there was room and need for at least four major types of service: a strictly controlled, aesthetically rich, liturgical sort; a period of corporate meditation and prayer in which the silence was broken occasionally when someone was moved to utter a few sentences of teaching or exhortation or prayer; a nonliturgical type in which the clergyman was free to draw materials from ancient liturgies, modern offices, or his own composition, arranging them so as to meet the needs of his particular congregation which he presumably knew better than any group writing for general use; a frankly revivalist type. Though his own preference as a steady diet was a moderately "high" Prayer Book service, yet he liked to worship periodically in the living silence of a Quaker meeting, in the rich artistic appeal and imagination-stirring pageantry of solemn high Mass, in the awe-filled austerity of a Scottish Church in the Highlands. People were differently constituted. The type of service to which they were drawn, and by which they were

most helped into the experience of worship, was a matter of temperament and culture. The United Church should provide them all. In the area of doctrine he thought a great latitude of formulations should be encouraged. To insist on rigid, uniform definitions might prevent the appropriation of new insights. The Apostles' Creed was a sufficient statement of the faith of the United Church.

Positively, Brent envisaged a Great Society of God's children and servants through whose corporate life He would carry on his saving and reconciling work on earth. This Great Society, basing itself on God's revelation recorded in the Bible, would stand above individuals, nations, races, cultures, judging them all by the standards of its Master and serving them all in his spirit. It would meet the needs of individuals and groups by giving them a faith by which to live and a goal for which to work. The faith was that ultimate reality is omnipotent love, whose unique Revealer and Agent is Jesus Christ; the goal was the furtherance of God's rule on earth. By providing these, the Church would elicit men's fullest capacities, unify their personalities, direct their energies into creative channels, enable them to achieve harmonious and fruitful relations with other people and to lay hold on their heritage as sons of God. By giving this faith and this goal it would provide the motive for all the scientific, artistic, literary, economic, political, and social activities necessary to human welfare, and would integrate them. It would be God's redemptive and fulfilling agency.

The chief bond by which this Great Society would be held together was loyalty to the Lord Christ and the God whom he revealed. An analogy of Brent's idea of Church unity was the British Commonwealth, of which the bond of unity was personal loyalty to the king rather than organic constitutional or legislative ties. More fully the ties were expressed in the Lambeth Quadrilateral. Brent was an ardent supporter of this formula, not because of its Anglican origins, but because he was convinced that its four points constituted the best, and the sufficient, basis in faith, worship, and polity for the Great Society, the

Holy Catholic Church. If it were securely founded on that basis, the Church would perforce teach men the revelation of God given in Christ, and would proclaim his ethic as the law of men's being and strive to give it effect in every phase of human activity. It would find the focus of its life in the Lord's Supper; and that Sacrament would again become a holy communion of all Christians with their Master and with one another, as men and women liturgically represented Christ's sacrifice on Calvary and offered themselves in union therewith. The ancient rule of ordination would ensure a ministry everywhere recognized as fully adequate so that no scruple of conscience would separate Christians from each other's altar, at the same time permitting all necessary diversification of administrative machinery and organization and forms of worship. The prime necessities of all large societies would be met — continuity with the past, cross-fertilization of insights, freedom for change and local adaptation in the future, diversity within unity. More important, the chief requisite of a Christian Church would be provided: loyalty to the revelation and mission entrusted to it by its Lord.

Brent thought that into such a Church every Christian group could bring its treasured possessions and make them available to others. The Great Church would be the heir of all the spiritual, moral, and intellectual wealth of the Christian centuries: the Hebrew passion for the sovereignty of God, the speculative adventures of the Greek tradition, the organizing power of Rome, the Anglican gift of diversity within a living unity, the Protestant Reformers' concern for the Biblical faith. To it the newer Churches of the Orient and the southern hemisphere would add their insights. The whole message of the Gospel and the whole resource of faith and sacrament and preaching and prayer would be so funded as to be available to all. Nothing less measured up to Brent's vision.

THE GREAT CONFERENCES

Stockholm

THERE WERE OTHER APPROACHES TOWARD CHURCH UNITY BESIDES the Faith and Order Movement. To these Brent gave as much attention as he could. The one to which he devoted most thought and time was the Universal Christian Conference for Life and Work.

Dr. Nathan Söderblom, Archbishop of Upsala, Sweden, whose scholarly eminence was matched by his ability and courage as a leader in practical affairs, was as devoted to the cause of Christian unity as Brent. He believed that theological differences should be faced, but he thought a parallel approach to unity was also necessary and more immediately pressing, namely, co-operation in ethical leadership and humanitarian service. Largely because of his efforts, the Universal Christian Conference for Life and Work was assembled at Stockholm in August, 1925. Carefully prepared reports were presented on the teaching of Christian ethics about matters affecting international relations, such as war and efforts to establish organs of collective security like the League of Nations, and also about other matters such as the relations between races, the conflicts between economic groups, inadequate educational opportunities, alcoholism, and sex morality. Brent fully concurred in the need for consultation between the Churches on these points. Lack of a united voice on ethical problems was an important reason for the impotence of Christianity in human affairs; there was no united voice because there was no common understanding of, or even approach to, Christian ethics; this state of affairs could be remedied only by co-operative study and conference.

Brent was assigned to the committee that dealt with the

Churches and international affairs. To consider previously prepared memorandums, it met for a week prior to the opening of the Conference in a fourteenth-century castle, Orbyhus Slott, "where King Eric XIV was imprisoned and, as we were informed by Latin inscriptions on the walls, 'on the secret counsel of the Senate and Bishops was poisoned.'"¹ When the Committee's report was presented he spoke for those who believed that the Church could and should take a direct part in preventing future wars. His addresses before the Conference and several articles written at the same time reveal his position on one of the matters most debated by Christians.

The Churches' primary responsibility is moral and spiritual loyalty to their Master. This entails proclaiming at all costs his ethical teaching, and the bearing thereof on contemporary social and individual problems of conduct, for unless the ideal be steadily forced on people's attention it will be forgotten and there will be no nearer approximation to it. "It is for the Church to determine in what circumstances, if any, killing and maiming, lying and guile, destruction and rapine—in short, the declaration of a moratorium for the moral law—ceases to be an offense against God and man, and becomes a praiseworthy virtue and a patriotic duty. Dare we do less than hold that war as an institution for the settlement of international disputes by brute force allied to cunning and lying, is incompatible with the mind of Christ, and therefore incompatible with the mind of His Church; that war is the abuse and not the use of force because it attributes to force authority and ability to determine values of which it is as incapable as trial by fire; that the aggressor is the nation which will not arbitrate or seek due processes of law and order, and should be treated as an outcast; that it is the duty of the churches to throw their weight in support of the organized fellowship of the nations. . . . With proper tribunals erected for

¹ Brent, *Understanding*, Longmans, 1925, pp. 4, 5. This is an exceedingly valuable little book. It gives Brent's interpretation of the Stockholm Conference, his two chief addresses at it, one of his finest published sermons, and matters of lesser importance.

dealing with disputed questions it will be the clear duty of the churches to proclaim war a sin and to instruct their adherents to refuse resort to arms."¹

This last sentence does not mean that Brent was a pacifist. Most pacifism he regarded as weak and spineless, or as a result of a totally inadequate appreciation of the place of the nation in God's purposes and of the citizens' responsibility to it. He often used the phrase, "No man can lay claim to a true international spirit unless he first loves his own country enough to be willing to die for it"; and at Stockholm he said, "The nation has such honor that it can add to the glory of the City of God by bringing that honor into it." Where pacifism was based on sincere Christian convictions he honored it, but he felt it sprang from a misunderstanding of the human situation and of Christian ethical obligations. Until some organs of arbitration, supported by sufficient power to enforce their decisions, had been instituted, wars would continue, for evil and selfish nations would seek their goals by any means unless restrained by the appropriate instrumentalities of the rest of the world. Attempts to achieve disarmament, or to curb the frightfulness of war, apart from such agencies were folly. In view of this, it was as much the ethical duty of Christians to labor for such agencies as to support, and try to perfect, the legal and police institutions which restrained criminals in their own country. This was the nub of the ethical problem as he saw it — hence his support of the League of Nations, not as a perfect agency, but as the first step toward adequate collective security and therefore toward the abolition of international war.

Brent knew that the Churches were inhibited from effectively banning war not only by their lack of a common mind and a united voice but also by two tragic religious errors. One was what he regarded as the muddle-headed thinking of Continental Protestantism, chiefly Lutheranism. In its insistence that only God could

¹ Bell, *The Stockholm Conference*, Oxford University Press, pp. 175-183. This is the official report of the Conference. Brent's speeches are also available, and more conveniently, in his book *Understanding*. This quotation is found there on pp. 32, 35.

bring in a better age, it failed to realize that working for measures of collective international security was as much part of Christian duty as supporting society's co-operative efforts to restrain individual thieves and murderers. Therefore it faced the dilemma of political activity divorced from religion or religion divorced from any contemporary relevance. The second error was laying such stress on human sin, and on the consequent inability of men to accomplish any moral progress, as to cut the nerve of ethical endeavor. Here was the gravamen of his dissent from the type of theology associated with the name of Karl Barth. It seemed to him to lack faith in God — in God's supremacy over evil, in God's ability to achieve great things through people who would obey Christ's ethic implicitly and who would avail themselves of the costly power of forgiveness, in the practicability of Christ's moral teaching. His own conviction of what a united Christian Church, thoroughly loyal to Christ and working with a realistic understanding of the problems, could do was expressed in the stirring declaration of faith with which he closed his main speech at the Conference. "What is needed more than anything else is courage to try God's way in reaching after God's purposes in all the great as well as the small affairs of life. There is only one way to God's purpose and that is God's way, or shall I say God's highway. Fear, suspicion and doubt hold the nations in thrall. There are many international injustices to be rectified. War will never do the job. . . . War is not like litigation which ends in the settlement of a particular dispute. Any war, in its settlement, goes far beyond the dispute which brought it about. . . . It is because I believe in the sanctity of the nation and the magnificence of patriotism; it is because I believe youth can best serve the nation and mankind by living for duty rather than by dying for it; that I reaffirm my belief that the Christian Church, if it be so minded, can, in the name of Christianity, rule out war and rule in peace in a generation. I may be a fool, but if so I am God's fool." ¹

The chief impression Brent carried away from Stockholm was

¹ Bell, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

the revelation of how far apart the Churches were, not only in matters of order but of fundamental faith and ethics. A good deal of this chasm was due, he felt, to the intellectual blockade which central Europe had suffered during the four years of war. More basic causes were the Wars of Religion, with the consequent nationalist Churches, and the ensuing smugness which had permitted the non-Roman bodies to wait over three hundred years before beginning to examine together the points at which they differed and to search for the truth thereon. He was convinced more than ever that no matter how important it might be to secure co-operation in such areas as the Churches were prepared for, it was even more important to face their disagreements—provided, however, that they examined these points against the background of what they held in common. In his eyes Stockholm enhanced the importance of the Faith and Order Movement.

His second chief impression was the greatness of the Swedish leaders, especially Archbishop Söderblom and Professor Brillioth, and of the spiritual stature of some of the Germans—notably Professor Adolf Deissmann, of Berlin; Dr. Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze, professor at the University of Berlin, and social worker; Dr. Walter Simons, president of the German Supreme Court. His third impression was that though very little agreement had been reached a large measure of understanding had been achieved. Men had spoken frankly. After the first few days they had not attempted to justify themselves but, rather, to give such explanations that each position might be understood by those who held other views, and each group had been as eager to learn from others as to expound its own thought. The message sent out by the Conference had the priceless quality of honesty, not attempting to register more agreement than there actually was, and thus had helped understanding.

Stockholm, in Brent's view, both helped and hindered the Faith and Order Movement. It hindered because it revealed so deep a cleavage between the thinking of Continental Protestants, especially the Germans, and Anglo-Saxons that many of the former considered further collaboration useless, if not dangerous.

They regarded American confidence that by untiring efforts men of good will could bring in a new world as tragic illusion and rank heresy, for they thought it disregarded the power of sin, minimized the absolute sovereignty and grace of God, and violated the proper relation between Church and State. The better they understood the prevalent American point of view, the more they disagreed with it. Stockholm deepened the suspicions which Brent labored so hard to overcome in order to get representative German leaders to Lausanne. He thought that had it not been for the untiring efforts and great influence of Dr. Deissmann they would not have come. On the other hand, Stockholm helped Faith and Order because it provided opportunity for leaders of different Churches to become well acquainted and to acquire trust in each other personally even though they differed extremely in their views, because it increased the custom of common consultation upon matters of agreement and disagreement, and also because it convinced a larger number of people of the necessity of facing frankly together the deepest areas of dissent. In a longer retrospect than Brent's death permitted him, one can see today that Stockholm notably advanced the total movement toward a reunited Christendom.

Along with supporting Stockholm, Brent threw his influence behind the American effort toward inter-Church co-operation, of which the organ was the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Many of his fellow Episcopalians were extremely skeptical about the advisability of collaborating with it, lest participation in such an interdenominational movement might cloud the difference between the Episcopal Church with its Catholic heritage and the Protestant groups. Brent emphasized that there was a difference; but he felt that the great Protestant communions were part of Christ's Church Universal, and also he felt that the necessity of union was so great that every measure of co-operative activity must be supported. So he worked heartily with the local Buffalo Council, and used all the influence he could muster to persuade the General Convention of 1925 to affiliate the Episcopal Church with the Federal Council. The

resolution passed the House of Deputies, but failed by one vote in the House of Bishops. He renewed his attempt at the General Convention of 1928, when it passed the Bishops but lost by one vote in the House of Deputies. However, at a later meeting this Convention passed a resolution which Brent offered, authorizing the National Council of the Episcopal Church to co-operate with the Federal Council, a preliminary step to the complete affiliation effected in 1940.

In the judgment of many competent observers his championship of the Federal Council was one reason why Brent was not elected Presiding Bishop in 1925. A group of his friends asked permission to nominate him for that position. The entries in his diary for nearly a week record his perplexity. He did not think he was suited for the post and he knew it would interfere with other obligations. He definitely wanted to avoid it, but he wanted it to be filled with an avowed advocate of the Federal Council. So he let his name stand. It was a relief to be beaten by one whom he regarded as a very capable administrator, Bishop Murray, of Maryland; it was a matter of regret that the one selected had never been conspicuous in supporting inter-Church co-operation and unity.

Throughout the period between the war and the meeting of the World Conference on Faith and Order Brent's health was frequently uncertain. On several occasions he was forced into hospitals. In September, 1925, he had so severe a heart attack that he felt sure a fatal one could not be very far distant.

The Lausanne Conference

Wednesday morning, August 3, 1927, was a warm, lovely day in the old Swiss city of Lausanne. By nine thirty a variegated crowd of people was to be seen trudging up the steep streets toward the ancient cathedral, for at ten o'clock the opening service of the World Conference on Faith and Order was to be held. From every corner of the earth and from almost every major part of Christendom they had come, representing 127 Churches: Orthodox Patriarchs and Bishops from Greece, the

Balkans, Asia Minor, Syria; leaders of the Anglican communion from every section of the British Empire, the United States, South America, China, Japan; the best-known figures of Protestantism in central Europe, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France, the British Isles, America. There was no Roman in the company except two unofficial observers:¹ every other Christian communion of any size was represented. Most of the Churches had chosen their delegates from among their strongest leaders and ablest scholars—men like Bishops Gore, Headlam, and Temple, from England; Archbishop Germanos, of Thyatira, and Professor Alivisatos, of the Greek Orthodox Church; the Moderator of the Church of Scotland; Bishop Azariah, of Dornakal, in India; Professor Lew, from China.

As this cosmopolitan group repeated, each in his own language, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed and sang from the quadrilingual hymnbook such universal hymns as "Now Thank We All Our God," people realized vividly that despite all differences of theology, polity, and nationality there was a great substratum of Christian faith underlying all such barriers, and that in common prayer men found their oneness in Christ. Bishop Brent preached on "The Call to Unity." Of this sermon the late Archbishop Temple of Canterbury, a delegate to Lausanne and successor to Brent as chairman of Faith and Order, wrote the author that it "made a deep impression—deeper than was at first apparent. I remember that as I listened I was rather disappointed; there was less of a ringing call than I had expected. And I found others whose feeling was similar. But as the Conference proceeded there were frequent references in conversation and in the sectional discussions to the lines he had laid down, and it became apparent that he had done something much more important than stir our feelings: he had supplied the direction

¹ A formal invitation to be represented was conveyed to the Pope (Benedict XV) as early as May, 1919. His answer was that everybody knew Rome's position, and that as soon as other Churches made their obedience to the papacy there would be a united Church. He warned Romanists against participation in the unity movement, cf. the encyclical *Mortalium Animos*.

which the Conference could follow in unity of spirit, and all groups had been able to accept the direction he there laid down."

In this sermon Brent was concerned primarily to make the delegates profoundly conscious that they were responsible to God for what they said in the full sessions and in small groups, for he was convinced that if men spoke aware that they were in God's presence they would speak with charity, with an endeavor to understand as well as to be understood, to learn as well as to proclaim their own convictions. Opening with the impressive words, "We are here at the urgent behest of Jesus Christ," he argued that as an increasing measure of human unity is the prerequisite for each new stage of God's beneficent purposes for mankind, so the perfection of men's unity is the earthly fulfillment of God's plan. Unity is God's gift to men, not men's unaided achievement. But God cannot force harmonious relationships upon them, for that would deprive them of their freedom, their manhood: they must co-operate with him. Disunity is the result of sin; and as every section of Christendom shared in the sin, so every section must do its part in overcoming it. The way to overcome it is the patient way of responsible conference. He elaborated the New Testament teaching on unity. He showed its absolute necessity if the Church is to fulfill its mission and be the Church. He closed by pleading passionately that the delegates practice the moral qualities that are indispensable for fulfilling this, as all, Christian tasks—humility, patience, charity, and faith.

From the cathedral, the delegates went to the Great Hall of the university where the first plenary session was held. Brent was chosen president—a position he had previously agreed to accept on the condition that Dr. Garvie, Congregational leader from England, was made Deputy Chairman. The Bishop's health had been precarious, and he knew he could not preside at all the meetings of the entire Conference and also do the great amount of other work involved in being president.

The agenda of the Conference had seven topics: "The Call

to Unity"; "The Church's Message to the World, the Gospel"; "The Nature of the Church"; "The Church's Confession of Faith"; "The Church's Ministry"; "The Sacraments"; "The Unity of Christendom and the Relation Thereto of Existing Churches." Each topic was presented by a number of papers to a plenary session which was thrown open to general discussion after the prepared addresses. The papers, translated into English, French, and German, were mimeographed in advance, and circulated. The subject was then canvassed thoroughly by one of the sections, of more than one hundred members each, into which the whole Conference was divided. These sections reported their findings back to other plenary sessions. The findings were discussed and amended before being given the final form in which they were referred to the Churches for study.¹

Brent's presiding was of great importance. He contrived to keep the debates in a setting of worship most of the time. Several delegates recorded that to them the most impressive features of the Conference were the morning devotions and the brief periods of silent prayer interspersed through the discussions. They were recalled to that mood by occasional remarks like those with which he opened a plenary session: "You and I must put ourselves in the right relation to God. I am as strongly convinced on many subjects as the rest of you, but I am anxious to get rid of prejudice and ignorance, and it is for us, in a way that perhaps we have never done before, to put ourselves at the disposal of God, to give our minds and our hearts and our judgments into His hands that He may sway us whither He will."² Furthermore, he combined a thorough knowledge of procedure with tact, firmness, and a saving humor that eased tense situations. Dr. Temple wrote in the letter already referred to: "His position as the pivotal person of the Conference was plain, and his quiet, firm and often humorous control of the discussions was most

¹ The reports of the various sections, the main speeches and shorter addresses at plenary sessions, the final form in which the reports were submitted to the Churches, and very valuable explanatory material, are given in Bate (editor), *Faith and Order*. S.P.C.K., 1928.

² Bate, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

effective. I particularly remember his delight in one odd occasion when two most respected members of the Conference, Bishop Gore and Dr. William Adams Brown, were fiercely resisting one another while each was sure that the other must really agree with him. Bishop Brent saw the humor of the situation, inadvertently let loose a whoop of laughter, to the astonishment of the earnest disputants, and by his humorous interjections quickly restored peace and goodwill." As president of the Conference he was entrusted with the task of writing the Preamble affixed to the reports when they were sent out to the Churches; yet it must be added that he was given this responsibility, not only because he was president, but also because his point of view and judgment were so completely trusted by all delegates. One of them, Dr. Vernon Bartlett, of England, wrote that throughout he embodied the real soul and mind of all at their best.

Even more exacting than presiding at plenary sessions was Brent's work of pacifying the few belligerent delegates, and of reconciling individuals and groups alienated from one another by misunderstandings. Of this activity, Dr. Garvie wrote to the author: "He was constantly busy between and after sessions in dealing with difficulties and avoiding dangers, and there is no doubt that his personal influence was the most potent factor in the success of the Conference." On at least one occasion when certain delegates, offended because they thought that the convictions of their Church were being slighted, considered introducing motions that might have produced such turmoil as to prevent any constructive results being achieved, he and Garvie labored with them for several hours to show that nobody had intended to prevent their views from receiving fullest consideration, and finally persuaded them to state their positions as contributions toward a fuller understanding of the situation in Christendom rather than as an ultimatum. Several other groups were moved to press the particular shades of belief which differentiated them from others and to declare that because of these items they could not sign any report based on other premises;

again Brent and Garvie talked with them, assured them that no one wanted to override their convictions, and persuaded them of the wisdom of assenting to statements to which they could subscribe even though they seemed not to go far enough. In a letter to Bishop Hall, Brent indicated that the worst moment for him was when Dr. F. C. Morehouse, a lay delegate from the Episcopal Church in the United States, criticized the report of Section VII in the harshest and severest speech of the Conference, and moved in effect that it be tabled. The speech was received with consternation and antagonism. Brent saw the danger of the Conference breaking up in confusion less than an hour from the time set for final adjournment. He softened the speech somewhat and then suggested receiving the report *nem. con.* and referring it to the Continuation Committee for further consideration and such action as it thought desirable. In this, as in other difficult situations, Brent was greatly helped by the judgment and support of Dr. Garvie, with whom he consulted almost hourly every day from breakfast until past midnight.

Brent was chairman of the Steering Committee, which met daily to deal with many proposals submitted by delegates for the improvement of the agenda and the procedure. In addition, he had to attend meetings of the Business Committee and consider financial matters, and at least once to decide a difficult question concerning the Secretariat. The translators, stenographers, and mimeographers did magnificent work under the supervision of Ralph W. Brown, generally having the minutes of a morning session available in mimeographed form in three languages when the afternoon meeting was called to order. The strain on them was great. Not unnaturally they sought extra pay for extra hours. The decision finally had to be made by the Bishop, who acceded to their request on the ground that it was only just.

Many people were struck by the serenity with which Brent went about all his tasks, never appearing hurried or anxious or preoccupied. The secret of his tranquillity was the time he spent in prayer and the perspective he derived from it. No matter how

late he was kept up at night, he spent at least an hour in private worship the following morning, offering himself to God's service, laying the Conference before God to ask his blessing upon it and his wisdom for its members and leaders, contemplating the forthcoming sessions *sub specie aeternitatis*. Wherever he went and whatever he did, he kept aware of the presence of God and attuned his spirit to God's purposes. His life was a continuous act of worship.

But the strain told on him. Several times his heart bothered him. Those close to him, who knew of his condition, were constantly apprehensive. On the last day he had so severe an attack that he wondered if it was the end. Shortly after the Conference adjourned he wrote Bishop Hall that he was in the best of spirits but that his heart was worn out by attacks akin to angina. It was a combination of unclouded faith which refused to worry, indomitable will power, and careful diet that enabled him to carry through this fortnight.

Brent's contribution to the Conference was indispensable. He brought it a vision of God's purpose for unity and intense moral earnestness to surmount every obstacle in the way of that purpose. Supplementing moral zeal, he brought it his own patience and long-range view, a desire to base unity on truth rather than on ambiguous phrases that covered up disagreements, and great reverence for men's honest convictions no matter how much they differed from his own. He contributed an insistence that any union worth having must incorporate the values of all Churches rather than eliminate some in order to find a speedier accord. These factors made him trusted by everyone and created an atmosphere in which men spoke freely, charitably, and trustingly. And such speaking was essential if anything was to be accomplished. He was, in truth, the pivotal figure and the informing spirit of Lausanne.

Lausanne in Retrospect

The Conference, as a whole, measured up to Brent's idea of what it ought to be, he wrote Bishop Hall and Mr. Brown. It

enabled men to become acquainted and to understand one another's position; it gave to many of the delegates a new vision of the Church; it revealed where the Church at large stood, how its component parts viewed their respective tenets and those of one another, and thereby it demonstrated what questions demanded and deserved further investigation; it greatly improved interconfessional relationships. Its value lay not in great acts of its own but in preparing the way for great steps in the future. This judgment of Brent and other leaders has been borne out in the years since.

The most important thing about Lausanne was that it occurred. It was literally the first time since Christendom began to be divided that official representatives of many Churches had discussed the most difficult and divisive questions of doctrine and discipline in an effort to learn rather than simply to contend, to find the basis for a unity which might include all rather than a reason for excluding those who differed. Pastor Elie Gounelle, of the French Reformed Church, said that this was the first such discussion "ending without anathemas or excommunications. This is a new thing and a marvel."¹

Again, at Lausanne, Church officials learned to trust the method of conference. More than that, these men whose views had been regarded as irreconcilable were taught to value each other as equally dedicated to a common task and a common Saviour. They came to regard each other, not as adversaries, but as bound to each other at a very deep level. Brent affirmed in his closing words that the presence of God's Spirit had been manifest in the worship, the deliberations, and the fellowship, and that He discovered them to one another. It was this conviction that led him to write Dr. William Adams Brown, "The further I get away from the Conference the more I feel that we have got around the corner."

Lausanne brought to many of its members a new vision of the Church. Bishop Gore wrote in *The Times*, August 24, 1927, that the reunited Church must be large enough and compre-

¹ Bate, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

hensive enough to contain all the treasures of experience which had given their strength to the various communions, and that the Conference would bear fruit exactly in proportion as those it represented acknowledged that true Catholicism was wider and more comprehensive than anything embodied in any single communion. It was evident to him that a true witness had been borne by the different Protestant communities which Catholicism, as commonly understood, needed for its own sake and had so far failed to realize, and, on the other hand, that Protestantism needed to make its own what had been the strength and glory of Catholicism. The great question was whether the different communions would deliberately set themselves to acknowledge their own limitations and encourage in themselves the recognition that the true Catholicism, or the true Christianity, was something larger and richer than any one of the existing traditions. Brent thought that to have Gore say this of itself justified the Conference. It is safe to say that though some men left Lausanne as sure as ever that their Church had the whole truth, and that the only and the simple way to reunion was for all other bodies to adopt their formularies and practices, yet a large majority of the delegates went away with a realization that the Church of Christ was larger and richer than they had ever realized, or than their communion had understood, and that they and their branch of the Church must try to incorporate values previously unappreciated.

But while kindling new visions of the Church, Lausanne paved the way for greater things to come by teaching the people how much more they had in common than they realized and how much more important these agreements were than their differences. Lausanne also uncovered the points at which important differences existed, points important because they underlay more obvious dissents. For instance, it was found out that beneath much of the divergence on the sacraments and the ministry lay variant understandings of grace and of God's way of acting in the world. Accordingly, a strong group of theologians represent-

ing various bodies was asked to undertake a co-operative study of this topic, and that study eliminated some of the differences on sacraments. Brent said, a year and a half after Lausanne, that the next conference on Faith and Order could not repeat it: it must concentrate on one, or at most two, of the really fundamental questions, and to his mind the one to which it was most important that thought and prayer be given until agreement was reached was the relation of the Kingdom of God to the Church.

It is unquestionable that the extent to which the vision of the Great Church permeated the various Churches as a result of Stockholm, but chiefly Lausanne, was what made possible the noteworthy developments of the succeeding fifteen years. The total movement toward unity—along the lines of faith and order, life and work, and missionary consultation and co-operation—came to be known as the Ecumenical Movement; and this Ecumenical Movement is the most important phenomenon in the life of the Churches in the twentieth century. Landmarks were the Jerusalem Missionary Conference of 1929, the World Conference on Church, Community, and State held at Oxford in 1937, the second World Conference on Faith and Order held in Edinburgh that same year, the Missionary Conference at Madras in 1938, the World Conference of Christian Youth at Amsterdam in 1939 and again at Oslo in 1947. The most conspicuous agent and symbol of the growing movement toward reunion which has emerged so far is the World Council of Churches, begun in 1937 though the completion of its organization was delayed by the outbreak of the war.

Brent said at the close of Lausanne: "God has enlarged our horizons, quickened our understanding, enlivened our hope. We have dared, and God has justified our daring. We can never be the same again."¹ That is the best summary of what was accomplished at Lausanne.

Brent rendered one more service to the cause of Christian re-

¹ Bate, *Faith and Order*, p. 454.

union. At the General Convention of 1928 he offered a resolution, which was passed by both Houses, that a commission of bishops, priests, and laymen be appointed to begin negotiations with the Methodists and Presbyterians looking toward organic union, taking as their starting point matters of Christian morality.

LAUSANNE ONCE MORE

Premonitions

BRENT'S HEALTH, WEAKENED BY LIFE IN THE TROPICS, WAS FURTHER affected by the strain of the war and of the first few years of his episcopate in Western New York. Though warned in September, 1923, by two very eminent specialists that unless he strictly limited his work and carefully husbanded his strength his heart would give out and other latent troubles become serious, he thought that duty clearly dictated he should fulfill opportunities for the service of God and man before conserving his health. So he continued to work about as hard as before. From the beginning of 1925 until the end of the Lausanne Conference he was under constant strain, and several times thought that his last hour had come.

When the Lausanne Conference adjourned, Brent's constructive activity ended. Landing in New York on September 9, he went at once to Buffalo and tried to resume his work as diocesan. But he was a desperately sick man. On the advice of his physicians he entered the Johns Hopkins Hospital on October 1, 1927, for treatment and extended rest. His next public activities were sermons in St. Paul's Church, Baltimore, on April 1, and in St. Andrew's, Buffalo, on May 13. The following day he delivered his official address to his diocesan convention, meeting in Lockport. The doctors warned him again with utmost seriousness that for at least a year he must do less than half his usual work. The bulk of the summer he spent in the Adirondack mountain camp of some friends. Most of September he devoted to his correspondence, to meeting with individuals and committees, but making very few visitations. He went to the General Convention which sat in Washington from October 10-19, attending the sessions of

the House of Bishops but avoiding all other engagements. For the first time since his consecration the ringing challenge of his voice was not heard in the councils of the Church. At the urgent request of the Presiding Bishop, and on the advice of his Standing Committee, he sailed for England on November 3 to represent the Episcopal Church at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Dr. Davidson's accession to the Archbishopric of Canterbury and at the enthronement of his successor, Dr. Lang. He never returned to America.

From the autumn of 1923 onward Brent's diary shows that sudden death was an ever-present possibility in his mind, and accordingly he aimed to leave his affairs in such condition at all times that neither the diocese nor his relatives would suffer if he died without warning. Far from thinking himself indispensable, he had a very low view of his accomplishments. "Why I should have been allotted so many years is a mystery. As I see it, my life has been so shamefully small and broken and stained compared with what it might easily have been that I marvel at God's patience." But there was so much to be done that he regretted the probability of doing very little more. He never feared death.

Brent regarded life as a glorious adventure; but it is that because it is a constant struggle against evil and death. It is tragic first, glorious in proportion as the antagonists are stoutly fought. "Life *is* rather than *has* tragedy," he wrote in his diary. "The great war is to defeat tragedy in its own stronghold — the tragedy of broken hopes, of disappointments, of failure, of sickness, of heart break, of dying." And again: "Life is tragedy, and its joys and triumphs are but as a rainbow playing for a moment on its sullen clouds." The victory over tragedy is won partly in life, even more in death and in the life beyond the grave. So death is no more to be feared than life. Both must be faced courageously, with faith.

But neither life nor death should be gloomy. In a Christian, gloom, foreboding, and depression are wrong, for joy and peace are second only to love as fruits of the indwelling Spirit. Joy is

not a matter of temperament: it is a disposition won by faith in Christ's triumph over all the enemies of man. Men should face life as immediate and prospective victors over every antagonist. To cultivate joy and peace is as much a Christian duty as to cultivate love or patience or control of temper. He preached much of Christ's victory and the Christian's joy. Those who knew him best testify that in his last years he radiated serenity and joy increasingly. Perhaps the best index to the temper of his life in the latter years is a prayer that ended one of his meditations: "O God, open my eyes to see, cleanse my life to do, nerve my courage to bear, all that Thy will wills for me. Grant me to love, to rejoice, to be tranquil, to be pure, to trust, so that before I go hence and be no more seen I may be known by Thee as a loyal and loving servant of Thine and of those who are Thine."

In such a temper he lived, an invalid, from Lausanne until his death.

The Last Trip to England

Brent and Ogilby were appointed by the General Convention of 1928 to convey the greetings of the Episcopal Church to Dr. Davidson on the occasion of his golden-wedding anniversary, which coincided with the twenty-fifth anniversary of his enthronement as Archbishop of Canterbury and was also the date he had set for his retirement, to present him with a purse of \$10,000 contributed by some of the Primate's American friends, and to represent the Church at the enthronement of Dr. Lang as Archbishop of Canterbury. Sailing on November 3, they landed at Southampton on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Armistice and went straight to London.

The Bishop desired, as a representative of the American Army, to place on Armistice Day a wreath on the Cenotaph in Whitehall, England's memorial to her warrior dead. Through the courtesy of the Home Secretary an opportunity was given him late in the afternoon. When he appeared in crowded Whitehall to lay the wreath on the monument, the quiet efficiency of the

London bobbies was not needed to make a way through the throng for him. The long line of decorations on his coat won instant attention, and as he passed in silence through the crowd, bearing on his bowed shoulders the full weight of England's grief for her million dead, all did him reverence. For a moment he bent his head in prayer after he had placed the wreath, and then went his way, followed by the wondering looks of the reverent crowd, who saw his sorrow and yet felt that in spite of it he had won his way to peace.

Archbishop Davidson was one of Brent's most valued friends. One of the latter's prized possessions was a New Testament with the inscription, "To my brother, Charles Henry Brent, from Randall Cantuar. A memento of Christmastide at Canterbury, MCMX." Brent used this book a great deal. Its blank pages are full of outlines of meditations and quotations from various authors in prose and poetry; its margins have a number of comments on the text. The Archbishop had had him witness his will and consulted him about resigning his office in 1923 and again three years later. In similar fashion, Brent asked the Archbishop's advice on important decisions, such as accepting a chaplaincy in the A.E.F. and resigning the Philippines, and sought the help of his great influence to persuade the British Government not to permit its representatives to agree to various proposals about the opium traffic. The Archbishop evidently greatly trusted Brent's views on the situation in the Orient and in America, and regarded him as "the voice of the conscience of mankind." Brent regarded the older man as one of the wisest and best-informed leaders in Christendom, and as a uniquely Christian individual. Their mutual respect was the basis of a deep mutual affection.

One incident connected with the presentation to the Archbishop of the gift from his American friends amused Brent immensely.

"Ogilby," said the Bishop on their arrival in London, "we ought to get the \$10,000 changed into gold before we present it to the Davidsons: it will be their golden-wedding day."

"Impossible," Ogilby replied. "It is in the form of a draft on

Morgan and Company payable to the Archbishop, and you cannot cash it. Besides, that amount of gold would be an annoyance and perhaps a source of concern."

"Well, at least we should put the draft in a gold casket. Let's go to the Army and Navy Stores and buy one."

So they entered that great emporium and asked for a gold box. They were promptly shown some gold cigarette boxes, which, of course, would not do. It was the proud boast of the Army and Navy Stores that they never refused an order, but stood ready to supply anything in the wide world. When, therefore, the clerk in the jewelry department saw that he could not meet their need at once, he requested permission to send for one of the managers.

Enter Capability Personified. "A small gold casket? Certainly. For presentation to the Archbishop? Then of course it must be suitably inscribed, and also the Lambeth coat of arms. . . . I trust you will give us plenty of time. Monday at four? [This was Saturday noon.] And the Lambeth coat of arms. . . . [Furious thinking obvious.] Monday at four. . . . Ah, this way, please. See, here we have a gold-plated inkstand, modeled exactly after a snuffbox of the period of Charles II; an inkstand, it is true, but see, we remove the glass inkholder, and it is now a gold casket. With the proper inscription on the inside of the lid and the Lambeth arms on the top. . . . Yes, it is a beautiful piece of work; I am glad you like it. You said Monday at four? This is Saturday noon — you shall have it."

And they did. They put the draft of the gift inside, and the Davidsons were delighted. The casket was duly placed on the table with the other golden-wedding gifts. Two days later in the *Daily Mail*, on the pictorial page were, "Photographs of Presents Made to the Archbishop and Mrs. Davidson on the Occasion," etc. At the top of the page in glory, "Ornamental Gold Casket Brought from America by the Lord Bishop of Buffalo," etc., and underneath, much smaller, "Gold Rose Bowl from His Majesty the King." How the Bishop chuckled. And he wondered what Capability Personified said when he read his *Daily Mail*.

The actual presentation of the resolutions from General Convention and the golden casket was an occasion made radiant by the affection of the dear friends concerned. Bishop Brent read resolutions with other tributes to the Archbishop and exquisite references to Mrs. Davidson. The Archbishop's last official act was to receive these greetings from the Episcopal Church in America, as Archbishop Lang's first official act was to receive its good wishes, both voiced by Brent.

Brent's doctors had given him permission to preach one sermon, and one only, in England, and he had accepted the invitation of Dean Bell of Canterbury, now Bishop of Chichester, to preach at the cathedral on Sunday evening, November 25. He spent much time in the preparation of this sermon, entitled "Unity Among the Nations and Unity in the Christian Church." It was a fitting valedictory. "I am not ashamed," he said, "to bare my soul to you. I glory in the fact that an incomparable vision holds me in its gracious thrall. It is not so much that I possess it as that it possesses me. My vision is of a world in the here-and-now at peace and unity with itself. There is no change in the diversity which now obtains. That abides; but a unifying and illuminating Spirit pervades the whole. There is one Church, binding man to God and man to man in a common life and purpose. . . . Nation interlocks with nation in a unity of mutual service, and each brings its glory into the common fund. No longer hampered by war or the fear of war, undreamed of human capacity and might are loosed and developed for the universal public good.

"If this vision seems so distant as to be impossible, yet it is a vision which inspires in a Kingdom composed of far vistas. He who now holds it, with the embrace of faith and hope, in his own soul, already possesses the reality, and hastens the coming of that happy day when the affairs of this world will no longer be conducted by the whim of man, but according to the eternal purpose of God as revealed in Jesus Christ our Lord. Whether in this life, or beyond, it is the only kind of world great enough for man made in the image of God."

Through the courtesy of the Dean and Chapter, Brent celebrated the Holy Communion in Canterbury Cathedral on Thanksgiving Day, the first time that an American clergyman had so officiated. At the service when the new Archbishop was enthroned, he was given a place of high honor. At its conclusion he greatly enjoyed meeting again many of his friends of other days.

After the enthronement, Brent's health made it obvious that plans for pleasant trips in the west country were out of the question. Fortunately the American Ambassador, Alanson B. Houghton, and Mrs. Houghton asked the Bishop and Ogilby to be their guests at the American Embassy for as long as they desired to stay. That meant comfort and warmth in English winter, and ready access to medical advice, which the situation seemed to demand. They stayed in the Embassy until the latter part of March.

One day Brent went to be checked over by his medical adviser and friend of many years, Sir Thomas Barlow, one of the foremost heart specialists in England. Sir Thomas gave him a thorough examination and then said,

"Bishop, do you drink coffee?" The Bishop groaned inwardly at the prospect of losing his morning coffee, and answered, "Yes, Sir Thomas."

"How often?"

"Only at breakfast."

"How much, Bishop?"

"Only one cup."

"Humph," growled Sir Thomas, "take two cups. It is the second cup that does the work."

For the rest of the trip the Bishop always quoted this bit of professional advice with gusto every morning as he poured out his second cup of coffee.

Sir Thomas' verdict was that the Bishop might live for years leading a restricted life, but on the other hand his heart might fail him at any time without any warning and without any immediately ascertainable cause. He must live the life of a semi-invalid.

The Bishop looked forward with apprehension to the gradual dwindling of his powers and to becoming an increasing burden to his family.

These days in the Embassy in London, in spite of restrictions and physical ailments, were very happy ones. Breakfast was leisurely, filled with discussion of the news in the morning papers. Sometimes there was a walk in the afternoon, or else a drive, or a visit to the British Museum or one of the galleries, one day to the Cambridge-Oxford Rugby match. Occasionally Brent went to the theater in the evening. There were always reading and frequent card games with Mrs. Houghton, who was confined to the house most of the winter by a sprained ankle. The chief pleasure of the stay at the Embassy, however, was the presence of the guests who came informally for luncheon or dinner. Discussions beginning with practical problems of politics or economic situations in England and America would gradually develop into consideration of the spiritual values concerned.

Brent never forced the conversation into religious channels or chatted about Christian faith and ethics in conventional terms. Indeed, some people were surprised and disappointed that they found it so hard to get him to "talk religion." But most people realized quickly, without his mentioning the point, that the criterion by which he judged any proposal under discussion and the assumption on which his own suggestions were based was the mind of Christ as he understood it. Long self-discipline and practice had made this habitual for him. Consequently, without saying so, he pointed people beyond himself to his Master. To converse with him about political, economic or international situations or leaders forced one to make up one's mind about what Christ's mind was and about its validity as a criterion for public policy no less than for private conduct.

One British problem that aroused Brent's intense interest was the suffering in the Welsh mine fields. He made what was for him an exceedingly generous contribution to the Lord Mayor's Fund for the coal miners, accompanying his donation with a letter; and there seems to be no doubt that his letter, and con-

versations with several influential people, increased the gifts for the relief of the distress in Wales.

Among the Bishop's papers was found the carbon of a letter written from London on February 4, 1929, to his sister explaining one of the most surprising episodes in an unusual life. Father Doherty, a Roman Catholic priest, was so impressed by Brent's work for unity that he left him a bequest of \$10,000. Because of the reason behind the gift, Brent thought it would be highly improper for it to go to his estate, and accordingly, with the testator's consent, he directed that it should be made into a trust fund, the income to be devoted to promoting Church unity. After Brent's death, Father Doherty added a codicil to his will revoking the bequest. But when his will was probated, the court held that the codicil had been improperly executed and was void. Miss Helen Brent, the Bishop's executrix, promptly gave notice that she would not accept the bequest even though it was legally hers, and permitted it to be divided among the priest's heirs.

In these months, Brent devoted hours of relaxation to solitaire, especially to two complicated games called "the scorpion's tail" and "the spider's web," often with Mrs. Houghton working out their intricacies at a near-by table. On one priceless occasion the Ambassador saw him shift a card to make the solitaire come out. Immediately the Ambassador said:

"Now, Ogliby, you as a teacher of youth are interested in moral problems: what is your feeling about cheating at cards?"

"Certainly one of the lowest forms of human vice, Mr. Houghton, practiced only by the depraved and degraded."

"But how about cheating at solitaire?"

"Even more despicable, because so useless and so wanting in intelligence."

"Then what would you say if you saw a Bishop cheating at solitaire?"

At this point in the dialogue there was a violent explosion of episcopal wrath—or mirth—so devastating that it was at least half an hour before peace was restored, and the Ambassador returned chuckling to his book. Quiet . . . coals dropping in the

fire . . . an occasional rustle of cards—and then the Bishop shouted, “I’ve got it!”

“Without cheating?” Mrs. Houghton asked.

Brent’s diary shows that while at the Embassy he devoted considerable time to outlining another book, designed to be the final statement of his matured thought, to be entitled *Things That Matter*. He wrote a long letter with this title to his diocesan convention, summarizing his views as to what was basic and indispensable. The letter was published serially in the diocesan magazine, *Our Diocesan Fellowship*, in the issues of March, April, and May, 1929. The sovereignty of God and the necessity of establishing personal relationship with him by prayer and contemplation; the centrality of Christ as the key personality; faith and love as the indispensable qualities of a life that would be Christian; the activity of the Holy Spirit incorporating men into the Christian fellowship, enabling them to live increasingly Christian lives, and ever urging the Church on to fulfill its function; the inescapable duty of achieving Church unity—these were for Brent the “things that matter.” In this letter he was at his best—mature, full of the zest of life, illuminating and convincing, pungent and eloquent.

The Prophet

Brent began to publish early in his career. He continued to do so throughout his life, and he was moved increasingly by a sense of duty rather than by the natural human urge to self-expression. He felt that God had entrusted him with a message; he knew that he had a wide circle of readers; it seemed his obligation to speak to them as well as to his audiences.

But Brent also wrote for himself and for God. He was a reserved man who rarely confided his deepest thoughts to his companions. Some thoughts he expressed in his publications. Many of them he articulated only in his diary. Some were presented to God, the offering of his best skill, his hardest thought, his most profound emotion, as, for example, the prayers in his

diary or the following quatrain, entitled "The Risen Crucified," written on the flyleaf of his Bible in 1909:

"Brow made more comely by the thorn's harsh kiss;
Hands taught new mercy by nails merciless;
Heart's portals open-lanced to every need;
Feet shod with fiery wounds that lend them speed."

The Bishop never was, and never claimed to be, a technical scholar or systematic theologian. His was rather the prophetic gift: that is, on the basis of a profound insight into God's purposes, human nature, and the realities of the contemporary situation, to indicate what steps men must take to proceed toward a more truly Christian Church and a fairer order of society, and also the results of failure to take such steps. In addition to this gift of insight, he could express himself with devastating directness and, like every poet, could see the eternal and the adventurous in the petty and the humdrum. Therefore he could be a leader—"a foremost companion," in his own phrase—and make compellingly clear to men the call of God and their own duty.

But to say that he was a prophet is not to say that he minimized the work of technical scholars, systematic theologians, or philosophers. He read constantly and intelligently in many fields and "picked the brains" of specialists whenever he could converse with them.

Brent's diaries give an index to his reading. He read a good deal of science, contemporary and classical philosophy, poetry, history, and political theory. Of his contemporaries he thought Whitehead the most useful philosopher, and Dewey the most pernicious; Masfield, the greatest poet. He studied intensively all the best books and articles available on the opium problem, the organization of international society, Christian unity, missions. He did not study much contemporary theology, though one entry in his diary is a highly critical commentary on Karl Barth's *Römerbrief* which he regarded as the manifesto "of the

new theological era which seems to have broken out in Germany. Faith in a purely transcendental God seems to be the keynote." He disagreed vehemently with Barth because the latter based his theology on man's sinfulness rather than on his possibilities as redeemed. The sin was real enough, and dire enough in its results; but, more important and more revealing of God was what God had done in the Incarnation and what his grace had made man possible of becoming. Instead of much reading in contemporary theology Brent studied the Bible and tried to deduce his theology from that.

Brent never shut his eyes to the difficulties raised for Christian faith by modern scientific research and the problem of evil. He felt obligated to study widely, to think deeply, and to follow wherever the evidence pointed, without trying to force all new knowledge to buttress Christian doctrines. Indeed, there were few things he more deplored than the attempt to make scientific research ancillary to religious dogmas, for that was ruinous to both science and Christian faith. Intellectual integrity was as important as faith or love, for apart from it there could be no real faith and no real love and no true manhood. Therefore he wrestled frequently with the relation of science, especially psychology, to Christian faith. Few men felt more acutely the difficulty of faith in a loving God in face of the apparent indifference of the universe to the vast tide of suffering, and the terrible capacity of man for cruelty made him frequently rethink his view of human nature.

Brent's views changed. As he once gave up earlier views about the authorship, date, and inerrancy of the various Biblical books, so he later surrendered earlier formulations of the doctrines of the atonement, the Church, and the ministry. But such alterations, far from weakening, actually strengthened his fundamental convictions though they altered their proportion and expression. His living belief centered increasingly in Jesus Christ, His majestic manhood, His revelation in human terms of God's purposes and character and love, the authority of His forgiveness and of His ethical commands, the new relation to God He

made possible for men. He tried to interpret everything in the light of the clue provided by the character and teaching of Christ. Christ was the "Key-personality," the Figure by reference to whom men might understand God and themselves. If new facts outmoded old dogmatic systems, those systems must be re-examined until they could accommodate the new knowledge and be brought into harmony with the character and aims of the Master.

Brent's Matured Thought

Brent's matured faith held firmly to the orthodox doctrine of God as Creator, Judge, and Saviour. But in his later years, though insisting on God's power and holiness, he laid such emphasis on his love as to rank with the great singers of the love of God. "God is not almightiness that is loving, but love that is almighty. . . . Love is the greater, almightiness the lesser," he wrote in an unpublished meditation. And not simply a generalized benevolence toward creation as a whole but a very specialized self-giving to, and an effort to establish personal relationship with, every person, controlled the exercise of His power.

But the evidence available to natural scientists seemed to Brent to indicate an ultimate reality indifferent to human values, impersonal, mechanical. Science, as science, did not proclaim the Christian belief in God. Nor could philosophy demonstrate the God of Christian faith. The traditional arguments for God might support faith: they could neither evoke it nor prove it. Belief in a personal God whose most significant quality was love rested on trust; on "the soul's invincible surmise," in Santayana's phrase; on God's breaking into one's consciousness. Men had to choose between four positions, none of which could be proved as scientific hypotheses or mathematical propositions could be proven: materialism; agnosticism; a vague, idealist theism; Christian belief. Whichever people might choose, the Biblical saying still held, "We walk by faith, not by sight."

Faith, to Brent, was the highest human quality, for it involved the intellect, will, and emotions. It differed sharply from meta-

physical speculation, which was a purely intellectual activity, and therefore generally a sterile one. Christian faith meant *living* on the basis of the conviction that Christ revealed truth, and such living demanded a threefold effort: an effort to cultivate a personal relationship with God; an effort better to understand God and to view all life from his perspective; an effort to forward his purpose in the world and to order one's own behavior by the example and teaching of Christ. Prayer, study, and ethics were all inseparable from Christian faith. The result of such faith was that one appropriated the forgiveness of God and began to live on a new level of life, the level for which God destined men, life eternal.

The Incarnation was for Brent the starting point and indispensable element in Christianity. It is the constantly recurring theme in all his writings. He made far fewer references to the atonement, though he assumed it as an inseparable element in the Incarnation. Though quite orthodox in his Christology, he became less and less interested in how men formulated the Incarnation dogmatically. The important thing was that men should believe, and act on the belief, that in the life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth were humanly expressed the character, attitudes, and purposes of God, the potential majesty of manhood, and men's duty if they would lay hold on their privileges of being sons and co-workers of God.

Next to the Incarnation, Brent emphasized the Holy Spirit. Again he was concerned not with dogmatic formulation but with trust and experience. He was convinced by the experience of Christians through the ages, and by his own experience and observation, that if people really trusted in Christ and expressed that trust by making him in fact the ruler of their lives through earnest prayer and ethical endeavor, his Spirit cleansed, strengthened, united, and guided them. This seemed to him as much a fact of experience as the reinvigorating effect of a drink of cold water to tired and thirsty men.

To slight either the individual or corporate aspect of Christianity was radically to misrepresent the Christian religion. Faith

had to be the trust of individuals or it was nothing. Individual communion with God and individual ethical effort was the heart of the Church's life. But Christianity was also and inescapably social. For Christ came to inaugurate the Kingdom of God, and a kingdom is a corporate entity. As the sacrament, the outward and visible sign and instrument, of that Kingdom, Christ created a fellowship of men and women, the Church. It was fatal to identify Church and Kingdom, as Romanists did; it was fatal to forget that the Church was the sacrament of the Kingdom, as Protestants tended to do. Membership in it was both a duty and a privilege.

The Church must have a ministry, rites, platform, program. Brent refused to dogmatize about what mode of organization and what form of ministry the Great Church would have. In the meantime he was confident that the individual's obligation was to conform loyally to the Church of his particular allegiance, and he was also sure that the traditional threefold ministry embodied something of permanent value, though he was increasingly averse to insisting that it, and it alone, was the divinely instituted form.

Like any corporate body the Church must have its rites. It is impossible to discover in detail what was Brent's doctrine of baptism beyond the statement of the catechism that by that rite a person is made "a member of Christ, a child of God and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven." It seems quite clear that he believed that in the Holy Communion Christians offered to God the memorial of Calvary which Christ commanded, as well as themselves, their goods, and their praises; and also that in that service Christ was somehow present—that is to say, accessible—to the devout and penitent worshiper. It was the Christian sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving: it was also a genuine means of communing with Christ and with other Christians.

The Church must have its basis in a common belief. Brent preferred the Apostles' Creed to any other confession of faith; he pleaded that it, and it alone, might be accepted as the standard of the united Church, largely because it was less dated by the

metaphysic of any particular culture than the Nicene, and not at all concerned with the controversies of a special age as were the Westminster and other Reformation confessions.

The Church of Christ did not exist simply for the good of its members. It existed to perform a task: to witness to God as made known in Christ, to win *all* men and *all* societies to Christ's obedience, and to serve *all* the needs of men. To discharge this task called for all the resources of the Church, all the specialized knowledge and skills of its different members, all their combined wisdom, all their loyalty and courage and endurance. By working at this task men would fulfill the human conditions necessary for the full emergence upon earth of God's Kingdom, "coming down . . . as a bride adorned for her husband."

The concept "wholeness" was the most distinctive feature of Brent's matured thought, as one learns from his diaries, letters, sermons, and publications.

Though it is possible to speak of various aspects of human life—physical and spiritual, intellectual and emotional, moral, aesthetic, and religious—yet a man or a woman is a unit. In proportion as every part of his constitution functions fully and in proper relation to the other parts, he is a healthy personality. Wholeness is health. Furthermore, when every part functions aright and in harmony with every other part, and when this whole is properly related to other wholes, it is fulfilling God's desires and separated from the evil which destroys. Such separation from evil and dedication to God is the root meaning of the word "holy." So wholeness is holiness as well as health. Such a condition is attained as some one factor controls and integrates the entire being and harmonizes it with others. Subjectively this factor is faith; objectively it is God.

The wholeness of man is answered by the wholeness of God. For God too, though men discover his activities in many and varied ways, is a unit. The Christian doctrine of God is as emphatic on his unity as on the differentiation of the Persons within the unity. Men's danger is to give disproportionate attention to one or two phases of his nature and activity, thereby losing sight

of others. He is Creator and Judge and Saviour; not acting first in one role and then another, but always pursuing one goal which involves all three, so that he is always creating, always judging, always saving. His judgments are a means of saving, and his saving acts are ways of fulfilling his creation. Therefore, a human must approach him in his wholeness; and this wholeness is best expressed by the word "Father."

Furthermore, this whole God is to be sought and understood in all the avenues by which he manifests himself. The whole universe is God's creation; every human life and every human gift derives from him; all human history is under his inspiration or condemnation. Therefore one cannot restrict one's search for him to the specifically religious sphere, or limit the scope of his revelation to Christianity. This is not to deny the centrality of Christ: he stands as the focal point of all God's activity. He is the most signal manifestation and the clearest focusing of God. Everything else is to be understood in the light of Christ. But everything else has its place in helping men to understand Christ because everything else is the scene of God's activity, sin alone excepted.

Not only must a man think of the wholeness of God and of himself, but also of creation, the human race, the Church. The entire human society is meant by God to become united instead of continuing as a multiplicity of competitive, discordant groups. Like the human body, the human race can become healthy only as it becomes a unified whole; and this it can do only under one Lord. A unified world depends on a united Church. Therefore God's plan is one Church rather than a congeries of warring sects.

Catholicism stands precisely for the wholeness of Christianity. The Church is catholic in that it is universal in scope. An individual or a group is catholic in so far as he or it thinks and lives in terms of the whole — the *whole* past as well as the *whole* present. But the Church is in fact divided and fragmentary, and no one group, or no few groups, can claim to be the true Catholic Church. Brent went so far as to protest against speak-

ing of the Anglican Church, the Presbyterian Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Methodist Church. They should be referred to as communions or groups or even denominations, "because the word Church means just one thing, the whole body of Christianity."¹

Furthermore, every existing ecclesiastical body is in reality a sect, for every one shows itself to be a devotee of the cult of the incomplete by trying to vindicate itself (or itself and a few other groups) as the whole Church instead of realizing that it is but a part of the total following of Christ, thus ruling out some of the channels through which Christ has conveyed his blessings to men instead of striving to find a way to include them all in a richer and larger whole. Also, every communion tends either to limit the society of Christ's followers to the period since the sixteenth century, or to make the first four centuries the unalterable norm for his dealings with his disciples, or to identify his society in every century with a visible organization ruled by one man on the pretense of being his vice-regent upon earth. The only body that can claim the title Holy Catholic Church with complete justification is the Great Church of the future, the united, world-wide society of the followers of Christ, in which will be combined all the spiritual treasures of the various Christian bodies. He wrote: "The Catholic Church is an ideal rather than a realized fact. It partly is and wholly hopes to be."² To forward the embodiment of that ideal was Brent's great concern.

One step farther Brent carried his thought. Much the larger part of the followers of Christ are dead. To limit one's thought of the Church to those living on earth at this particular time is to rule out the great majority. The Catholic Church in its fullness includes the communion of saints, for in the bond of faith and in the unity of the Spirit men and women of today are fellows of men and women of the first century as well as of the twentieth.

¹ *The Inspiration of Responsibility*, p. 87.

² *Understanding*, p. 26.

The End

The Ambassador and Sir Henry Lunn, one of the most active Wesleyan laymen, an ardent worker for Christian unity, an admirer and friend of Brent's for many years, arranged a Mediterranean cruise for him in the spring of 1929 on the yacht *Asia*. In company with Sir Thomas Barlow, the latter's daughter, and a valet thoughtfully provided by the Ambassador, Brent left London on Thursday, March 21, stopping in Paris over Friday in order to visit General Pershing and to see a few of his favorite pictures in the Louvre. That night he had a heart attack and some dyspepsia, as a result of which Sir Thomas decided they must remain over Sunday. Brent made his last entry in his diary on Sunday, one that reveals his interest in the whole of life, "Cambridge walked away from Oxford in the boat-race, winning by $7\frac{1}{2}$ lengths." On Monday they journeyed to Lausanne, arriving there that evening. At Sir Thomas' request, the valet slept in the Bishop's room.

On Tuesday morning the party went for a short steamer ride on Lake Geneva. In the afternoon Dr. Secretan, pastor of the cathedral, called, after which they drove to the cathedral to see the plaque commemorating the Faith and Order Conference. The Bishop recognized the old concierge and chatted with her for a few minutes, to her manifest delight. After dining quietly with the American Consul, Mr. Baldwin, the Bishop went to bed early and fell into an easy sleep. At 2:30 he awoke in discomfort and sent the valet for Sir Thomas. The doctor found him breathless, with a feeling of oppression over the heart and a very weak pulse. His pulse became fainter and more rapid, his breath more difficult. He spoke several times: "Things are fading away"; "I charge you again not to forget what I have said to you before, that I wish to be buried where I die." He became unconscious and died without a struggle at 3:30 in the morning of Wednesday, March 27.

Sir Thomas wrote to Ambassador Houghton that death was not due to overexertion or digestive disturbance, but that it was

caused by the same sort of heart fibrillations the Bishop had had previously, adding that there was evidence that a hemorrhage into the bowel during the last night had been an aggravating factor.

Dressed in the purple cassock of a bishop, his body was placed in a plain oak casket marked only with his name and dates, in compliance with his desire for simplicity. In the cathedral chapel, for which he had often expressed admiration, a memorial service was conducted on Thursday morning by Pasteur Secretan and the ministers in charge of the English Church in Lausanne and the American Church in Geneva. Symbolic of the Bishop's universality, Pasteur Secretan read and spoke in French, the others in English. Each member of the congregation said the Creed and the Lord's Prayer in his own tongue. The coffin was put temporarily in the mortuary chapel at the cemetery.

When it became known to the authorities of Lausanne and of the Bois de Vaux cemetery that it had been the Bishop's wish to be buried where he died, they offered a plot in the section reserved for distinguished foreigners. On April 12 the burial office was read in the English Church, at which Dean Beekman of the cathedral in Paris made an address. At the interment, the Mayor of Lausanne spoke of the affection and admiration with which the people of the city regarded the Bishop. In the congregation were representatives of the American Foreign Service, headed by Ambassador Houghton, Church leaders from Switzerland, France, Germany, and England, officials of the Swiss Government and the League of Nations, many of the Americans resident in Lausanne and Geneva, tradesmen of the city with whom he had dealt, servants of hotels where he had stayed.

Very soon after the Bishop's death a fund was subscribed, chiefly by people of Western New York, for a permanent monument, and Dr. Ralph Adams Cram, the Bishop's godson, was asked to design it. The grave is marked by a slab of granite approximately seven feet long, three feet wide, and two feet high. On top is carved a Celtic cross, and on the perpendicular sides appropriate Christian symbols, including an open Bible, a

chalice, a miter, the symbols Chi Rho and I.H.S. There is this inscription:

Charles Henry Brent

1862-1929

A soldier of Christ

A servant of Humanity

An Apostle of Christian Unity

Bishop of the Philippine Islands

1901-1918

Bishop of Western New York

1918-1929

On one of the beveled edges is carved: "Chief of Chaplains American Expeditionary Force, 1917-1918"; and on the other, "President First World Conference on Faith and Order, 1927."

When his death was announced, tributes were paid him from all over the world: from national leaders like the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain; from the chief ecclesiastics in America and Canada, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and other countries in Europe and Asia; from many friends in high positions and from innumerable people in humble walks of life. Memorial services were held in Buffalo, Rochester, New York, London, Paris, and Manila. Nearly every Church paper of every Protestant communion had an editorial on him. His death showed that in his life he had been "everybody's Bishop."

Born in a country town in Canada, his longest period of ministry in the Far East, the shortest in an army in France, a citizen of the United States who labored for one decade in the slums of Boston and another in the western part of New York, climaxing his career in Switzerland, and later, cared for by English folk, dying in that country: Brent's life and work could no more be limited to a single nation or communion than can the rain or the sunlight. His stage was the world. His vision was given him by God, his heart infused by God's charity; and God recognizes no barriers of race, class or culture. Because he bound himself to

God and thought in God's universal terms, his words reached men in every range of humanity and men of every type revered him. As Percy wrote of Enzo's father,

*"When he walked through
The portals of Death's purple-raftered house,
I know the other guests arose and stood."*¹

¹ Reprinted from *The Collected Poems of William Alexander Percy*, by permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Copyright 1924, 1943, by LeRoy Pratt Percy.

THE INNER LIFE

His Ideal

THE SECRET OF BRENT'S WORK AND INFLUENCE WAS HIS INNER LIFE.

Few men spoke less about their inner life than he, but few left more material by which to study what transpired beyond the observation of others. His voluminous diaries and letters furnish invaluable source material, and in his published books there are many reflections of his own experience.

Brent's inner life was turbulent. The outward composure which the world usually saw was, throughout most of his career, the result of strict self-control. Only in his later years was it the reflection of profound interior calm. And that interior calm was the fruit of long discipline.

The constituents of Brent's being were discordant as they can be only in a complex and sensitive man. His goal grew with every step he approached it. Limitless spiritual aspiration and a painfully acute conscience fought with physical appetites, pride which wanted recognition, a strong man's desire to have his own way, and a hot temper. A tremendous vision struggled against the consciousness of tasks poorly performed. He knew periods of "abysmal depression," of "unutterable despondency which just failed of becoming complete despair," to use phrases of his intimates, phrases fully justified by his diaries. At intervals he knew also the heights of ecstasy. Most of the time his experience was that of holding himself sternly to his duty and submitting himself to the discipline he knew to be necessary for his own growth and for the effectiveness of his work.

The drama of Brent's inner life is the gradual harmonizing of the various elements in his being by the power of an ideal affirmed at first by his conscience and his mind, deliberately nur-

tured by a carefully chosen and rigorously observed discipline, captivating increasingly his imagination and emotions, becoming the supreme value passionately sought by every factor of his manhood. This dominating desire elicited all his capacities, integrated his personality, molded his character, determined his activities among men. It was because Bishop Hall, building on his parental training, fired him to espouse this ideal unreservedly, taught him the necessary discipline and supported him through the painful early stages until it became habitual, that Brent felt under such profound obligation to him.

Brent's ideal was to establish and consummate the personal relationship with God which God offered human beings. This, he was convinced, was man's highest conceivable good. Human beings were creatures of a minute, certain to die after a few years, to make mistakes, to be frustrated, to sin. Their lives could be of significance only as they were linked to God's eternal purposes, invested with the dignity of his fellow workers, and raised by his Spirit from the ordinary human level to the level God intended for them. To share in God's activities and to be raised to eternal life depended on personal relationship with Him. Such relationship, being men's highest good, was also their vocation; it was the end for which they were created. The destiny of animals was to respond to their instincts; the destiny of men was to respond to the call to be sons of God. To enable men to appropriate such a relationship, both as individuals and corporately, was the purpose of God's revelation through the Prophets and the Incarnation, of the atonement and the mission of the Spirit. He wrote in *Things That Matter*, "Man's chief vocation is to penetrate through the things of sight and sense, and to establish and consummate relationship of a personal character with God. There is nothing that can take the place of this, and without it life loses such effectiveness as it might otherwise have."

Brent wrote out of his own experience. The more one reads in his diaries and letters, the more strongly one gains the impression that his personal relationship with God grew in intimacy and joy. With its development went a change in his emphasis on

God. In the early days he stressed chiefly God's exactingness; toward the end, God's overwhelming, self-giving, sacrificial love.

Relationship of a personal character between human beings, he thought, rested upon mutual understanding and trust, communication, association. Similarly, relationship of a personal character between God and men rested upon understanding and trust, communication, association. Therefore study and meditation, prayer, obedience to God's will—the obedience first of a servant and later the free obedience of a son who knows his Father's aims and gladly and intelligently espouses them as his own, the obedience which reckons doing God's will as more important even than food—were the indispensable conditions for achieving the supreme good; and these formed the structure of Brent's inner life. Whenever possible he spent from 6:00 A.M. to 7:00 in meditation; from 7:00 to 7:30 in prayer; from 7:30 to 8:30 in study.

But he who sought to live in communion with God, and at all times to do his will, was sure to be led into unforeseen paths. He might misinterpret God and do foolish things; he might seem to his fellows unreasonable and dangerous to the established order, and therefore be opposed and defeated as well as misunderstood. "Misunderstanding is inevitable among the dull of perception, anger from those whose vested interests are imperilled, and spite from the mischievous, the meddlers, the jealous." He would certainly travel the path of suffering, for he would have to give up many comforting ideas and gratifying prejudices, and he would be taught the painful fact that, however fine he might seem to others, underneath the surface he was swayed largely by fear, pride, and the desire for pleasant physical sensations; and he would share deeply in the agony of the world. Yet to draw back because of the danger of error, defeat, and suffering was to forfeit the chance of achieving life's true meaning: it was to court certain and ultimate failure. Therefore, the mood of life must be venturesome. Dr. Drury quoted in *Adventures in Prayer* a striking phrase: "No man is safe unless he swings his life between an opportunity and a risk." Brent himself sought

safety from final failure by seizing his opportunities to serve God at the cost of many defeats and much pain. In doing so he was helped increasingly by a thought which long training slowly turned into a habitual attitude, that men's difficulties are their opportunities. Temptations, exacting responsibilities, and pain give people their chief opportunities to prove worthy of the trust of manhood, to grow in character and capabilities, to become closer friends of God. It was this attitude which enabled him, always to some degree but consistently in his later years, to meet his own sickness, the opposition or listlessness of others, his anguish at the suffering and sin around him, with gratitude for the opportunities they presented.

Again, Brent thought that he who seeks to live as a son of God must needs have his ideas, experiences, and values purified, corrected, and supported by those of the whole family of God in every time and place. For no matter how great the individual's faith or how sincere his devotion, he would certainly make mistakes and he would certainly have periods of depression and doubt. The aid of universal experience was his surest deliverance from eccentricity, fatal error, and despair. His own inner life was characterized by the constant testing of his insights against those of the whole company of Christians crystallized into the great dogmas of the Church. The essential ideas which these doctrines attempted to express carried for him an august authority. Though he never permitted them to stop his questionings (the great error of Fundamentalism) yet he never presumed to regard his own ideas as certain if they contradicted the central convictions of the ages. The dogmas were like signposts directing him toward what the toil and prayer of many generations had found of the truth. The signs might have poor lettering; they might not point to the precise path but only indicate the general direction: but they were the best guides left to him by those who had trod the same way before, and he proposed to follow them as far as they could lead him. He did not regard dogmas as infallible but as extraordinarily valuable pointers.

His Philosophy of Prayer

To achieve a personal relationship with God was Brent's passionate desire. The Bible, Church history, and his understanding of human nature convinced him that the desire was justified and attainable. He believed that men were so constituted as to be able directly to apprehend, and to be apprehended by God, a conviction most fully discussed in his books, *The Sixth Sense* and *Presence*.

Every person has the capacity to project his personality beyond the confines of his body so that he can affect or be affected by another person's similarly projected personality. The result may be that the two repel each other, or that they become linked together by mutual respect, affection, and loyalty. All people know this experience of genuine meeting with the reality of another person, and that it differs entirely from the merely external contact of a polite handshake and trivial chat; indeed, the latter is a device men frequently employ to avoid real meeting of personalities. Just as a person can project his personality toward another person, so he can project it toward God. Since God is always approaching men, genuine meeting between men and God is possible. The result may be that men are repelled from God and that their hearts are further hardened, or that they are won to faith and love. And also, purely external and formal prayer can prevent real meeting. Brent never thought men climbed unaided to the presence of God. God took the initiative. He awakened in them the desire to know him, and he gave them the ability to respond to his advances and to meet him.

This capacity to project self Godward, to meet him as he advances to one, and in some measure to know him (though never to understand him fully) was what Brent meant by the mystic sense, which everyone possessed in some degree. It might be undeveloped, atrophied, distorted, or paralyzed in any individual. But it was in every man to some degree, and was never entirely extinguished. Its development and refinement depended on a

person's will. Brent held that personal relationship with God was as normal as personal relationship with men.

The Bishop was convinced that this capacity for self-projection, this mystic sense, was no isolated religious aptitude but was the cause of all men's highest achievements in the fields of art, science, and morality, as well as in friendship and religion. By it men perceived and were grasped by the realities of which the physical senses could not take cognizance. It was not antagonistic to, or wholly independent of, the mind; rather, it adventured and made discoveries in regions beyond the reach of strictly rational processes, even as thought went beyond instinct.

The operation of this mystic sense was summed up in the word "faith," as the operation of the visual sense was called sight. Faith might be directed to some partial good—like scientific truth or art—and this might divert it from the total good, God. He thought that the commonest injury wrought to faith among modern men was not its complete perversion but its short-circuiting by being devoted to the good and the partial instead of the perfect. When the mystic sense was directed toward God, faith became religious faith. Faith needed purification and education in whatever field it was employed; for what passed as science might be as untrue, as superstitious, as much that went under the name of religion. The aim of spiritual discipline was to cultivate this gift, possessed by all, neglected by most.

Divine-human Intercourse

In Brent's books and diaries one notices four different aspects of divine-human intercourse: meditation, address to God, silent contemplation, meeting with God.

Meditation

Communication with God meant not only men addressing him but God communicating to men knowledge of himself and his will. A primary medium through which this was done was meditation. Viewed from the human side, meditation was a way of insight and of self-exposure to God; viewed from the divine

side, it was a human procedure which God used to communicate with men.

Brent generally read morning or evening prayer, quite often both. Not that he slavishly followed a rule to do so: he made it a custom, and customs were always subordinate to circumstances.

A significant phase of Brent's development was his steady growth away from every phase of legalism in religion. He believed in law as a necessity for the life of any large and complex society, but he feared increasingly lest man-made laws be surreptitiously invested with divine sanction and lest obedience to them be counted a religious "good work" instead of playing the game with one's fellows. Even more he feared lest customs, which were very helpful to some people, become regarded by them as obligatory on all, and lest thoughtfulness for others' feelings be submerged in zeal for a particular practice. Thus he urged people who habitually practiced certain acts of reverence, such as genuflecting at the Incarnatus, to refrain from them when attending a church where such acts were very uncommon in order not to distract other worshipers and in order to help the reverence of the whole body; and vice versa. "Sometimes the best way to be loyal to a principle is to break a rule."¹ Again, he told a group of which the author was a member that he regarded fasting before receiving the Holy Communion to be excellent as a custom but pernicious as a rule. For if raised to the level of a rule it removed the value of a voluntary act. Furthermore, the custom originated in the conceptions of reverence entertained by a particular culture, and to contend that a custom of such origin was obligatory on people of totally different temperament and culture revealed a very warped perspective. Though he very rarely, if ever, ate heartily before receiving the elements he very generally had, in later life at least, a cup of coffee, and quite often a light breakfast, before an eleven o'clock service at which he was to celebrate and preach. He thought it more reverent to be in the best possible condition for doing

¹ *With God in the World*, p. 95.

his part to edify the people than to follow a laudable custom which might result in diminished vigor.

When Brent read the daily offices, the designated portions of the Scripture in the psalter and the lectionary frequently formed the basis of his meditation. At other times he pondered various books or topics in the Bible, or collects in the Prayer Book. He used poetry and other writings about God and the things of God periodically. But the Bible furnished the material of his meditation at least four fifths of the time; for it was much the most significant written record of God's revelation, and therefore His most important medium of communication. In the last fifteen years of his life, he confined himself increasingly to the Gospels. For since Jesus was the altogether unique revelation of God, the records of his words and deeds were more important than the reflections of even his most illustrious disciples.

Brent thought it indispensable to discover precisely what the author meant to convey to particular readers. But that being learned, it became much more important to find out what God wanted to say specifically to him through the passage. As this meaning for him became clear he often wrote it down in his diary. There are many entries which begin as objective study of a passage and end as a record of some obligation laid upon him, or some message of forgiveness and assurance, and his response thereto of dedication or gratitude.

At other times Brent began his meditation by analyzing some problem which confronted him and presenting it to the Lord. He would first try to see what opportunity it offered; for every difficult responsibility was a new chance given him to forward God's purpose for some individual or group, and to achieve a closer relationship with God who Himself was active in all human situations. Then he would try to discover the best solution in the light of Christian faith and ethics. In this fashion he decided how to meet some of the most serious questions he faced in the Philippines — for instance, how to deal with the gifted but erratic Father Staunton; and in this way he determined the policies to be followed in the Chaplains' Corps overseas. Before me as I

write is his diary for 1918. One entry begins as an analysis of the effect of prostitution in France upon the American Army, and of methods which might be used by the Allies co-operatively to deal with this menace to their forces — measures educational, hygienic, preventative, moral, and disciplinary. This runs into a consideration of Christ as sin bearer and God's work of redemption. Then follows a brief description of the glory of spring, which ends as an ascription to the God who brings beauty out of the midst of ugliness. Another entry contains an analysis of a delicate problem in administering the Chaplains' Corps, a tentative solution, and a brief meditation on God's love for us and ours for other people.

He obeyed his own precept: "Pray with your intelligence. Bring things to God that you have thought out and think them out again with Him. That is the secret of good judgment. Repeatedly place your pet opinions and prejudices before God. He will surprise you by showing you that the best of them need refining, and some, the purification of destruction."¹

Address to God

Communication between God and man demanded that men address God. Brent's own address to God covered the whole gamut of life. He spoke of others and of himself, of things spiritual and things material. The dominant emphasis was on spiritual gifts.

In the diaries that cover the first half of his career in the Philippines one is struck by the amount and urgency of his requests for forgiveness, fortitude, and deeper consecration. A letter to Bishop Hall dated Maundy Thursday, 1904, is an excellent illustration of the acute sense of sin, and of the profound self-examination which evoked the passionate requests for forgiveness and deeper consecration.

"My year has been a year of failure and few victories and I am full of shame as I review the past. My resolutions have been, as passing clouds, and all my old sins have been victorious at

¹ *With God in Prayer*, p. 16.

times — lust, pride, untruthful or at least inaccurate speech, and fits of sloth.¹ My only comfort is that God has opened to me new aspects of the beauty of purity, and has set humility, truthfulness and loving service as beacons beckoning me to make them my own — it is this that keeps me from despair.” And on January 1, 1929, he wrote in his diary, “Greater honesty of thought and speech, greater humility — I wonder whether I have any humility at all — greater trust of others, all this I covet.”

The prayers for fortitude poured forth in his periods of abysmal depression. These states grew partly out of a sense of frustration, futility, and failure. The work under his jurisdiction made what seemed to him unduly slow progress, and he thought this was partly due to his inadequacy as an administrator. Between 1905 and 1910 he wondered periodically whether anything could be accomplished in the divided state of Christendom, and, as has been pointed out, it was not until after the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 that he saw any hope of these divisions being overcome. His depressions were also due in part to loneliness. He was a reserved man, with very few intimates, far from home and his closest friends, spending much of his time with people who had very little comprehension of what was dearest to his heart. Weariness and periodic poor health contributed to low spirits, and so did the realization that his mistakes and failures deeply affected others. “A man as an individual may be quite ready to be reckless with himself and his fortunes, but when in the loneliness of life in the uttermost parts of the earth he broods over the fact that his own failure would involve others deeply, an Egyptian night of horror can easily settle down on him and make him lose perspective. I confess to being susceptible to the paralysis of this sort of suffering.” Another factor was his belief that he was inadequately supported, if not forgotten, by the Church that had sent him to make bricks without straw, and

¹ It must be emphasized that Brent was a man of singular purity, humility, and honesty, judged by any human standard. His vehement self-condemnation is a clue to the standard he set for himself, namely, conformity to the character of Christ.

did not even fully trust him to formulate policies and plans without the interference of the Board in New York. On at least one occasion he felt this so acutely that he wrote Bishop Hall that he contemplated resigning his jurisdiction and volunteering for missionary work in the Canadian Northwest.

Depression also was caused by his deepening understanding of the selfishness, folly, cruelty, and sin of men underneath the veneer of morality and culture. When he was speaking to a friend about one of the opium conferences from which he had just returned, he remarked in great anguish, "For the first time I appreciate the Scriptural saying that the love of money is the root of all evil." After the war he often spoke of that conflict as the unmasking of men's barbarity. That men who were potentially children of God could descend to such depths caused him unutterable sorrow. He felt as his own the sufferings of the victims of war and the narcotic trade, of industrial exploitation and malnutrition, of the bereaved and the frustrated. His only solace came from contemplation of the cross with its revelation both that God's love could not be destroyed by men's sin and that God's power was able to turn men's most frightful enormities into instruments for accomplishing His gracious purposes. The cross, the meeting point of God's omnipotent love and man's temporarily victorious sin, was his spiritual refuge.

In such periods of discouragement he prayed for courage to carry on, for steadiness of vision, and for serenity of spirit. Several such prayers appear in his diaries, for instance: "Clothe our weak timidity with thine own unwavering courage, Good Lord, that we may fear nothing, and daring all things, may spend our full strength on the day's duty, to the dismay of the enemy and the establishment of Thy Kingdom, through Christ our Saviour."

Brent's sense of sin and of inadequacy evoked constant petitions for deeper consecration to God's will. He was sure that the reality of a person's prayer was not his words but his desire. Hence his desires must be purified and set upon right goals. The struggle to bring one's desires into harmony with God's will

was as central a part of intercourse with God as the request for their fulfillment, for, he wrote in *With God in the World*, "If we do not lift our life to the level of our prayers, eventually our prayers will be dragged down to the level of our life." Brent believed that every request is answered either affirmatively or negatively. The answer might come in the form of something God did or as a message heard in one's soul or as an eloquent silence. But an affirmative answer depended on the prayer's being in Christ's spirit, and therefore he strove to ask only for such things as God wanted to give.

A very large part of Brent's address to God consisted of intercession. He spoke to God about the whole of human life because God was concerned for the whole of human life. He interceded for all manner of people because God was concerned for them all. He spoke about God's concerns and his own with the fullness and freedom of a child who implicitly trusts and loves his Father.

It is questionable whether he ever thought through all the philosophical problems raised by intercessory prayer. He was not primarily concerned to do so. He believed in its efficacy and therefore practiced it steadily. He could not conceive doing otherwise. It was part of love. He doubted whether such prayer altered directly the chain of cause and effect; and he was sure it did not change an indifferent God into an actively helpful one. It reinforced the person one prayed for by one's power in Christ; it gave the Lord another channel through which to approach or enter the object of the prayer; it made it possible for another chain of cause and effect to come into operation without superseding men's free will; it was of pre-eminent usefulness in overcoming barriers between people, and in helping people who knew they were being prayed for. His most complete published discussion of intercession is in *Presence*.

Brent's address to God was full of adoration and thanksgiving. "Prayer is love melted into worship," he wrote; and the speech of love is adoration and thanks. Often he expressed his praise in verses of the psalms, or in classic prayers like St. Francis'

"Canticle to the Sun," or the "Gloria in Excelsis." Throughout the day he constantly lifted his heart Godward in wordless acknowledgment of his Father's adorableness and graciousness.

Even as he advised others to preserve proper balance in their prayers, so his own held in proportion adoration, confession, dedication, petition, intercession, praise, and thanksgiving. He used great pains in writing and rewriting his addresses to God. He thought a carefully prepared prayer was not less but more spiritual by reason of its artistic merit. For the best that men can offer, whether in literary phrasing or in devoted service, is none too good for God; and care in wording makes for definiteness, thus overcoming the vague, and often only partly meant, generalities that are the caricature of true communion.

Silent Contemplation

Communication with God included being quite still in his presence. For God spoke as well as listened: therefore it was as imperative to wait quietly upon God as to address him. He gave as well as heard: therefore in their intercourse with him men must appropriate his gifts and not confine themselves to addressing him. He said *no* as well as *yes*: therefore men must be prepared to have some of their petitions denied. It was not we who caught God's attention by prayer, but it was he who caught ours. Therefore if men never heard him, it was not because he would not speak, but because we did not listen.

Brent was convinced that God desired to give special insights to each soul; that if a person's chief desire was to learn God's will, God in some way made it known to him in the deep silences even more clearly than in the words of Scripture; that the greatest truths were apprehended only in periods of profound, silent contemplation. One could never be absolutely certain one understood God aright, or that what one thought to be his voice was not one's own desires or the suggestions of the devil. That was part of life: absolute certainty is not possible in any sphere. Men live by faith, not by sight.

Silent contemplation was, in Brent's eyes, not only a way by

which one heard God's monitions; it was also a way of appropriating God's spiritual gifts. People appealed to God for many gifts which he desired to bestow, but most folks overlooked the fact that gifts must be *received* as well as given. If one was to know that he was forgiven by a human friend or by God, it was necessary not only that the word be spoken but also that the fact be assimilated by his imagination as well as by his mind. If he was to be enabled to deal with another in the spirit of love, it was necessary not only that God extend the grace of charity but also that it be allowed to enter into his being and transform his attitude. Apparently Brent thought the manner of appropriation was somewhat as follows: One contemplated the gift; in silence he let the realization that the gift had been given permeate his entire being; he affirmed to himself that he was in possession of the desired grace; he acknowledged to God that it had been received and committed himself to acting on that knowledge. Such, at any rate, appears to have been Brent's practice.

It should be added that Brent thought the Eucharist was an indispensable means whereby Christians received God's gifts. For that service was not only a medium by which they made offering to God; it was also a medium through which Christ communicated to them himself, his life and vitality, as formerly in Palestine his personality had impinged on his disciples through the medium of his human body. To appropriate this gift of Christ was to appropriate with it his forgiveness, illumination, strength, serenity, joy.

Meeting with God

Prayer reached its climax as the direct and realized touch of the divine upon a human personality — as "meeting."

Brent's natural reserve was more accentuated on this subject than on any other. To talk freely about the most intimate dealings with God was impossible; it was to him a form of sacrilege. But there are suggestions in his diary and his prayers which compel the conclusion that he had such high moments when God confronted him directly and that everything else dropped out

of his consciousness in these overwhelming meetings. One is also driven to the conclusion that there were a goodly number of other occasions with but little emotional content in which he was acutely aware of God, when all conscious activity ceased in awe-struck, sometimes joyous, sometimes repentant, absorption in Him. For he testified that men could see Christ as really as the apostles did after the Resurrection, though not in precisely the same manner. When he spoke of the beatific vision he meant the clear apprehension of God by the complete man. Sight seemed the best symbol for this experience because Christ used it to denote the blessedness of the pure in heart. Brent spoke of the beatific vision not simply as one writes of something one has heard of and longs for, but as something he knew.

But it should be added that Brent warned against strained efforts to achieve such "meeting." Like every great privilege it brought new responsibility; not to regard it so was to misunderstand it; to strain after it was to show one did not know it was God's gift. To seek it as the great end minimized faith; if it came, it could easily minister to pride and lead to neglect of humble duties; if it did not come, disappointment readily led to disillusionment and the abandonment of religion. Moments of ecstasy with God were like moments of ecstasy between lovers. They could not be forced. If they occurred, they must be accepted with humility and gratitude, and they must never be permitted to obscure the fact that the life of a Christian was one of trustful companioning with God and glad obedience to his will in the humdrum activities of every day.

Brent's warnings on this score were of a piece with his frequent warnings that the life of prayer was very difficult. It seemed to him the hardest work men undertook. The difficulties were those of concentration; of deliberately making time in a crowded schedule to be alone with God, even though this meant rising very early or forsaking congenial companions; of the constant struggle to realign one's will with God's and of the humiliation that came from profound self-examination; of the intense pain that came when one's eyes were opened to the sin in the

world, and in those one had highly respected and loved, and of the pain that was the result of being led to espouse ideals and causes that to one's friends seemed very dangerous. Pain as well as joy was the lot of everyone who lived deep below the surface of existence, and the life of true prayer was a deep life. Therefore courage was indispensable to one who prayed, and the readiness to embrace suffering throughout life.

But his words of warning were balanced by words of cheer. If prayer was quite the most difficult task a man could undertake, yet in no other duty was God's help so available. If it demanded the finest qualities of a person's manhood, yet there was no one who was not equal to the effort, for God was ever offering his companionship to men, and every man had within himself the capacity for trusting companionship with God. It was a matter of the will; it called for sincerity, simplicity, and courage; and these were qualities within the reach of everyone.

Wholeness and Worship

The thought of God's relation to the whole company of the faithful, to which reference has already been made, had a great effect on Brent's attitude to some devotional practices. For one thing, it made him indisposed to condemn the invocation of the saints, though he never indulged in it himself and though he was acutely aware of its abuses, for it was an antidote to the still greater error of regarding God as the great Solitary. "His love does not permit Him ever to be alone. It is better to invoke the Saints than to think of God as lonely." For another thing, it modified his thought of confession. Confession to a priest became purely secondary to penitence before God and the whole company of heaven. The former was a "momentary medicine" which many people needed, but a priest's absolution was no more effective than the forgiveness which a penitent might appropriate through reading Scripture privately or through the help of a friend. Thirdly, it affected his thanksgiving: increasingly he gave thanks for God's manifestation of himself in all his true followers, for his gifts and graces to all of them, for the

privilege of being a member of the Body of Christ. Lastly, it added to his stress on corporate worship. Just because the Spirit bound people to each other in proportion as they tried to obey God's will, thereby making them into a genuine community which was aware of common needs and common blessings to articulate and common sins to confess, and joined them by the bonds of faith and love to the whole Church, a growing desire for public worship was an indication of a man's growth as a Christian. The form by means of which people were enabled to worship as a unit was of very secondary moment in his eyes, but he knew that some form was necessary if their worship was to be genuinely corporate, and this was the reason he thought liturgies were so important. Only by means of liturgical aids was a congregation able to become a unit offering a service of which God was the sole audience.

Some Results of Prayer in Brent's Life

When a man's supreme desire is personal relationship with God, learning and obeying his will, communing with him, his entire life becomes an act of worship. It integrates his personality and all his activities.

There was an intimate connection between Brent's communion with God and his activities among men. We have noted that intellectual labor formed part of his offering to God, his worship. Likewise, he thought that to manifest as fully as possible the Lord's graciousness by acts of personal service to others and by playing with children, or His righteousness by striving to eradicate some evil like drug addiction, or His concern for men's entire personalities by attempts to improve the medical care at St. Luke's hospital or the intellectual training at Baguio, was an offering to God; it was worship, and it was as acceptable to God as an offering of praise or intercession. To direct attention frequently for brief moments to him during such activities was both a necessity to keep perspective straight and also a joyous opportunity for contemplating the supreme object of his love and veneration. So the Bishop felt himself to be worshipping his

Father when attending to the duties of his office as well as when in his closet or the sanctuary.

The fusing of Brent's inner life into a passion to live increasingly as God's friend and fellow laborer brought him an increasing sense of security, more constant serenity and hope, growing moral power, steadfast direction in life, love for men: security, for he became aware that God's power was sufficient to support him through any adversity, and that nothing else mattered in comparison with his judgment; serenity and hope, for he learned God's long patience and knew invincibly his ultimate victory and was calmed by his presence; moral power, for much contemplation of him increased the attractiveness of goodness and renewed the vigor of his effort to do right, and succor came in moments of need; love for men, for increasingly he learned and shared God's concern for them. His prayer determined the standard of his character and service. As he put it in *With God in the World*, "Those alone labor effectively among men who impetuously fling themselves upward towards God."

Brent's steady effort to learn and serve God's will made him remarkably independent. He took his positions not from the pressure of friends, though the advice of a few whose judgment he trusted always counted with him, nor from the programs of those whose views he might be thought to share, nor from the ideas of recognized leaders in Church and State, nor from consequences to himself. Though all these factors had influence with him, for he was human, he deliberately tried to discount them and to determine his course of action by considering what would best serve the purposes of God in a given set of circumstances. His desire to avoid being too much influenced by other people combined with a natural shyness to make him slightly aloof. Even when rejoicing with the happy or rollicking with children or playing some game, he maintained an element of reserve, as though part of his attention was engaged in listening for Another's voice.

Consequently, people were never quite sure what he would do, except that no party line could hold him. He could never

be pigeonholed and labeled. In many respects he was a Catholic; yet he went counter to most Catholics in the Episcopal Church by making every effort to get it into the Federal Council of Churches, by admitting readily that nonepiscopal Churches had as much to contribute to Anglicanism as Anglicanism to them, by the freedom with which he treated such practices as fasting and auricular confession, insisting that they be kept as helps rather than requirements. In some respects he was thoroughly Protestant; yet he went counter to many Protestants in his Church by refusing to attempt the conversion of Romanists, by encouraging advanced ceremonial in the Philippines, by maintaining the usefulness under proper safeguards of practices like the invocation of saints and the reservation of the Communion elements for purposes of ministering to the sick. He was a devoted Anglican; but he wrote Bishop Hall that the main reason Anglican work in the Orient was not more successful was precisely that it was too Anglican, and he urged that Orientals be encouraged to develop Christian worship in ways significant to their own genius rather than be restricted to *The Book of Common Prayer*, and that they be given freedom to evolve theological formulations and artistic or dramatic symbolism in accordance with their own rather than Anglo-Saxon modes of expression. He said what he thought as persuasively as possible; he listened to opposition to discover what was to be learned from it; he heeded attacks upon himself much less than did most people because, by long discipline, he had become primarily concerned for the truth and for effective ways of forwarding the divine purposes.

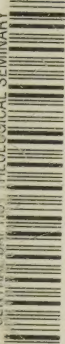
Independent of people and undisturbed by danger because of his love for God, always following the Pauline saying, "Forgetting those things which are behind, . . . I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus," Brent achieved to an unusual degree the inner liberty of a child of God, and proved afresh that His service is perfect freedom.

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